# Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS., 18,851
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

*EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.*

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# Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

## BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

## *Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,*

**No. 2076,**

VOLUME XXXVI.

## FRIDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1923.

---

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., W.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, I.P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, S.D.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., W.Yorks., J.D.; H. Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, P.M.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. S. Green, Ivor Grantham, Major O. Papworth, G. Derrick, W. J. Williams, H. Hyde, J. Horrex, A. Heiron, E. A. Hudson, J. Walter Hobbs, Walter Dewes, Robt. Blake, N. Dejean, A. Presland, R. C. Rann, G. W. Bowerman, Geo. Elkington, G. R. D. Rust, A. L. Gladstone, Ed. M. Phillips, A. G. Anderson, Herbert F. Whyman, A.G.St.B., F. M. Atkinson, W. D. Smith, C. H. Candler, F. S. Henwood, G. W. Richmond, F. C. Bickell, G. A. Crocker, J. Cecil Burton, Rev. H. Poole, A. A. Harding, A. Brown, H. Johnson, J. F. Vesey Fitzgerald, G. E. W. Bridge, F. W. Le Tall, S. W. Rodgers, H. A. Matheson, and D. Forbes.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Horrex, Temperance Lodge No. 169; H. Berwick, Alleyn Lodge No. 2647; J. Crichton Brown, Fortrose Lodge No. 108 (S.C.); G. Mackenzie, W.M., London Scottish Rifles Lodge No. 2310; Walter Naish, P.M., Kerala Lodge No. 2188; H. W. Dudley Ward, Orpheus Lodge No. 1706; Eric L. King, Londesborough Lodge No. 1681; and J. G. Moncrieff, Parian Lodge No. 977 (Ill.C., U.S.A.).

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, I.G.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.Pr.G.W., N. & E. Yorks., P.M.; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Wm. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Rylands; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; and S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.

---

Forty-two Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

## PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 5th January, 1923.

*Present*:—Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter in the Chair, with Bros. L. Vibert, J. Heron Lepper, J. P. Simpson, H. Bradley, Sir Alfred Robbins, John Stokes, G. P. G. Hills, Wm. Wonnacott, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

### REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1922.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret that we have to report the death of Bro. Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., on 10th April, Bro. Inspector General Belgrave Ninnis, R.N., C.V.O., F.S.A., on 18th June, and Bro. William Harry Rylands, F.S.A., on 8th September; and the resignation of Bro. Frederick Hastings Goldney on 6th January. The services rendered to the Lodge by these Brethren are on record in our *Transactions*. We extend a hearty welcome to Bro. John Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., Bro. John Stokes, M.A., M.D., and Bro. the Rev. Walter William Covey-Crump, M.A., who were elected on 6th October to full membership of the Lodge.

On 30th November, 1921, our Correspondence Circle shewed a total membership of 3,003, and 248 names were added during the year under review. On the other hand we lost 50 by death, and 83 by resignation, while 37 were removed for non-payment of subscriptions. Thus the number carried forward is 3,081—an increase of 78. The total admissions to the Correspondence Circle since its inauguration have been 10,400.

Three parts of the *Transactions* have been issued during 1922, against two parts only in 1921, the last to be published being Part I. of Vol. xxxiv. The second part of this volume is now being issued.

The accounts presented herewith shew that subscriptions amounting to £418 3s. 6d. are still owing. The balance to the debit of Profit and Loss Account has been slightly reduced, an estimated sum of £700 having been left for the completion of Vol. xxxiv., while the total received in 1922 remains for the eventual issue of Vol. xxxv. It is gratifying to be able to report that a substantial reduction in the cost of printing may now be expected.

Our Local Secretaries continue energetic on our behalf. The following new appointments have been made:—For Glasgow and district, Bro. Archibald Macpherson; for Nottinghamshire, Bro. the Rev. Walter S. Hildesley; for Minnesota, Bro. James F. Christison; for Tasmania, Bro. T. Warton Robertson; and for Saskatchewan, Bro. Frank Law.

For the Committee,

RODK. H. BAXTER,

in the Chair.

## BALANCE SHEET, 30th NOVEMBER, 1922.

### Liabilities.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Life Members' Fund (325 Members) ... ... | | | | 2125 | 11 | 6 |
| ,, Subscriptions, etc., received in advance ... ... | | | | 144 | 2 | 11 |
| ,, Correspondence Circle, 1921 Balance in hand ... ... | | | | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, do. 1922 ... ... ... | | | | 1159 | 9 | 3 |
| ,, Sundry Creditors ... ... | | | | 22 | 2 | 3 |
| ,, Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions as per contra, subject to realization ... ... ... | | | | 418 | 3 | 6 |
| ,, Lodge Account— Balance 30th Nov., 1921 | 67 | 6 | 8 | | | |
| Receipts ... | 42 | 7 | 6 | | | |
| | 109 | 14 | 2 | | | |
| *Less* Payments | 47 | 18 | 1 | | | |
| | | | | 61 | 16 | 1 |
| | | | | £4631 | 5 | 6 |

### Assets.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| By Cash at Bank ... ... | | | | 14 | 15 | 1 |
| ,, Investment, £1,300 Consols at 56½ per cent. ... ... | | | | 734 | 10 | 0 |
| ,, Sundry Debtors for Publications ... ... ... | | | | 11 | 12 | 2 |
| ,, Sundry Publications ... | | | | 435 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions in arrear— 1922 Correspondence Circle ... | 286 | 12 | 7 | | | |
| 1921 ditto ... | 99 | 18 | 3 | | | |
| 1920 ditto ... | 30 | 1 | 2 | | | |
| 1919 ditto ... | 1 | 11 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 418 | 3 | 6 |
| ,, Repairs Suspense Account | | | | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Profit and Loss Account ... | | | | 2917 | 4 | 9 |
| | | | | £4631 | 5 | 6 |

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for the year ending 30th November, 1922.

### Dr.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Salaries ... ... ... | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| ,, Rent, Rates and Taxes ... | 164 | 6 | 7 |
| ,, Lighting and Firing ... | 26 | 3 | 7 |
| ,, Stationery and Printing ... | 95 | 7 | 11 |
| ,, Postages ... ... ... | 232 | 3 | 2 |
| ,, Office Cleaning ... ... | 29 | 18 | 6 |
| ,, Insurance ... ... ... | 13 | 18 | 11 |
| ,, Telephone, etc. ... ... | 13 | 16 | 6 |
| ,, Carriage and Sundries ... | 14 | 14 | 1 |
| ,, Local Secretaries' Expenses | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| ,, Library Account ... ... | 17 | 2 | 4 |
| ,, Balance carried forward ... | 5 | 10 | 5 |
| | £1116 | 2 | 7 |
| To Balance from last Account | 2922 | 15 | 2 |
| | £2922 | 15 | 2 |

### Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| By Correspondence Circle Joining Fees, 1922 ... | 123 | 7 | 6 | | | |
| ,, 1921 Subscript'ns | 343 | 10 | 11 | | | |
| ,, 1920 ditto ... | 355 | 12 | 7 | | | |
| ,, 1919 ditto ... | 3 | 13 | 6 | | | |
| ,, 1918 ditto ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| ,, 1917 ditto ... | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 827 | 16 | 0 |
| ,, Back Transactions ... | | | | 47 | 17 | 0 |
| ,, Lodge Publications ... | | | | 20 | 16 | 6 |
| ,, Other Publications ... | | | | 18 | 15 | 0 |
| ,, Interest on Consols, less Tax | 23 | 11 | 4 | | | |
| ,, Discounts ... | 24 | 14 | 3 | | | |
| | | | | 48 | 5 | 7 |
| ,, Life Memberships Lapsed... | | | | 55 | 2 | 6 |
| ,, Appreciation on Investments ... ... | | | | 97 | 10 | 0 |
| | | | | £1116 | 2 | 7 |
| By Balance brought down ... | | | | 5 | 10 | 5 |
| ,, Balance carried forward ... | | | | 2917 | 4 | 9 |
| | | | | £2922 | 15 | 2 |

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture, or the Stock of Publications, and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith. I have ascertained that the holding of £1,300 2½ % Consols is correctly inscribed in the Books at the Bank of England in the names of the Trustees, and have further verified the balance at the London County Westminster and Parrs Bank, Ltd., New Oxford Street.

ROBERT H. McLEOD,
*Chartered Accountant,*
14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

29th December, 1922.

---

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. JOHN STOKES.

TABLE NAPKIN, linen damask, with Craft and R. A. Emblems. Made about 1875 by William Carter, a well-known linen manufacturer of Barnsley; member of the Friendly Lodge No. 1513; Mayor of Barnsley, and first Mayor of Harrogate.

*Presented to the Lodge.*

THUILEUR portatif des trente-trois degrês de l'Ecossisme. Paris, 1819.

MANUEL pratique du Franc-maçon. Paris, 1845.

CERTIFICATE, R.A., parchment, engraved form (*Frith, script.*), issued 24. May, A.L. 5807, A.D. 1803, to "Samuel Tompkin of Sheffield, Aged 33 Years," by the "Grand and Royal Chapter of Jerusalem, called the Royal Arch, in due form assembled at Free Masons Hall, London." The document is signed by Mount Norris, Z., Saml. Tompkin, H., Waller Rodwell Wright, J., Jas. Higgins, Grand Recorder, and Jno. Allen, Inspector General. Tompkin thus signs his own Certificate, as an officer of Grand Chapter. It is not known that he ever held such office, but he had been a member of the Chapter at Sheffield since 1797 or earlier, and was named in the Warrant issued in 1798, holding the office of Z. from 1812 to 1815.

By Bro. LIONEL VIBERT.

JEWEL, not identified, but almost certainly not Masonic; Metal-gilt, pierced, circular, 1¾in. diam.; Serpent with tail in Mouth enclosing Blazing Sun, Trumpet and Compasses, Sword with Square and Wreath over a Bust.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition, and had made presentations to the Lodge Museum.

---

Bro. the Rev. H. POOLE read the following paper:—

# SOME NOTES ON THE TRADE COMPANIES OF KENDAL IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES.

---

*BY BRO. REV. H. POOLE.*

---

TO celebrate the grant of a Charter by Queen Elizabeth, in 1575, one Henry Dycksonn presented to the Borough of Kendall a large volume of plain paper, in which to keep a record of the activities of the Town; and this book, fairly faithfully kept for over 100 years, is of the greatest value, not only to the mere local historian, but also to the Masonic student, for the light which it throws on the life and practices of trade companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A title-page describes this MS. book as:—

A BOKE OFF RECORDE OR
Register Contayninge all the Acts and Doinges in or
Concerninge
The Corporation w'in the Towen Kirkbie Kendall
Begynnynge at the ffirst entrance or Practysinge
off the same w$^{ch}$ was the Eighte day off Januarij
Anno Regni Dne Elizabethe dei gra Angl Ffranc
et hibne Regine ffidei defensor etc decimo octavo 1575
KIRKBIEKENDALL
Anno dne 1575

We are fortunate in that the book has been reprinted under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society; though, so far as I am aware, its Masonic significance has not hitherto been pointed out.

Among the contents are two lists—apparently more or less complete—of the inhabitants of the several streets of Kendal, in 1575 and 1588: lists of the Aldermen, Burgesses, Mayors, and other Borough officials, until early eighteenth century, and the oaths they had to take: lists of the freemen of the various companies of craftsmen: a long series of orders made for the government of the trades or crafts: many miscellaneous items relating to incidents and decisions in connection with the Town, with extracts from wills, and other notices of gifts to the Borough: and lastly an 'Inrolment of Pryntices' commencing in 1571 and ending in 1645.

The Companies were twelve in number; and each of them was allowed to appoint two or more wardens, generally with some restriction as to the trade to which they belonged. The list of Companies is as follows:—

TWELVE SEVERALL COMPANYES.

1 CHAPMEN MARCHANNTS AND SALTERS May Choise ij° wardons wheroff th'one to be yearly A Chapman Thother A Marchannt or Salter

2 MARCERS AND DRAPERS LYNNEN AND WOOLLEN May choise ij° wardons wherof th'one to be A Mercer thother A wollen or Lynnen drap or A m'cer occupyinge Wollen Drapye

3 SHEARMEN FFULLERS DYERS WEBSTERS May Choise iiij$^{or}$ wardons and all to be Shearmen yearlye

4 TAYLERS IMBRODYRERS AND WHILTERS May Choise iiij^or or ij^o wardons all to be tayllers yearlye

5 CORDYNERS COBLERS AND CURRYERS May choise iiij^or or ij^o wardons all beinge Cordyners yearly

6 TANNERS SADLERS AND GIRDLERS May Choise ij^o wardons whearoff one to be a Tanner and thother A Sadler or Girdler yearlye

7 INHOLDERS AND ALEHOWSEKEPERS AND TYPLERS May Choise iiij^o wardons wheroff ij^o to be Inholders and other ij^o Alehowsekepers

8 BUTCHERS AND FFISHERS May Choise ij^o wardons bothe to be Butchers yearlye

9 CARDMAKERS AND WYREDRAWERS May Choise ij^o wardons and bothe to be Cardmakers yearly

10 SURGONS SCRYVNERS BARBORS GLOVERS SKYNNERS PARCHEM AND POYNTEMAKERS May Choise ij^o wardons thone to be A Glover yearlye

11 SMYTHES IRON AND HARDWAREMEN ARMERERS CUTLERS BOWYERS FFLETCHERS SPURYERS POTTERS PANNRS PLUMBRS TYNKERS PEWTERERS AND METALLERS May Choise ij^o wardons wheroff one to be A blaksmythe ye'lye

12 CARPENTERS JOYNERS MASONS WALLERS SCLATERS THATCHERS GLASIERS PAYNTERS PLEYSTERERS DAWBERS PAVERS MYLLERS AND COWPERS May Choise ij^o wardons wherof th'one to be A Carpent or Joyner

The status of the Wardens is indicated in the following:—

AN ORDER TO CHOISE WARDONS

And what power is given to them

ITT IS Lycensid and prmyttid Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses off this Boroughe w^th the ffull assente of the xxiiij^ti sworn Assistants off the same That the severall Companye and ffelowshippe off everie trade scyence or occupacon before nomynatid nowe and hearafter w^th in this Boroughe beinge shall and maye ffrome tyme to tyme ffor ever after the election of eny Alderman yearlie on the same day or on the morowe after at the furtheste quyetly decently and orderlye assemble themselves and come together in suche severall howses and placs w^th in this Boroughe as they ffrome tyme to tyme shall pvide And may then and thar electe choise and apoynte by moost voyces Discretlye emonge themselves owte of everie of the sayd severall ffelowshippes and Compaynes (beinge all ffremen) twoo or ffower off the moost honest credible sober wise and substanciall psonns whiche ij^o or fower psons frome tyme to tyme so to be chosen apoyntyd and yearly to be sworn on the Day off thothe takinge off everie Alderman before the same Alderman in the Comon haull shall and may be called wardons or Overseers off the hole company or ffelowshippe of suche severall trades scyencs or occupacons wheroff they shall so yearly be chosen and apoyntid wardons or Overseers havinge an Inferryour power and prehemynence in themselves ffrome tyme to tyme to the Speakers and Soliciters to the Courte by bill or Informacon to be exhibitid ffor reformacon helpe and redresse in everie the severall Scyencs or occupacons of the sayd sevrall Companye or ffelowshippe or ffor any other cause or occation they shall have to deale aboute any way concerninge their hole Companye and ffelowshippe or any of them And to make presentmente and Informacon to this Court off the breache of all suche byelawss and speciall orders as nowe be sett

established or hearafter may be sett and established in ffor or concerninge any of the same severall trades scyencs or occupacons And of the forfeytours off all ffynnes and Amerciaments to be lost in any wise dewe and leviable to thuse of the Chamber of this Boroughe furthe off Or concerninge the same severall trades scyences or occupacons or any off them And also of the several tymes when all and every Appryntice or s'vannte at any of the same trades scyences or occupacons shall enter into and begyn end or come furthe off his and their appryntishippes or s'vice And of the tymes when any strannger or fforreyner or other p'son no ffreman shall or may come into be and dwell within this Boroughe or the librties hearof occupyinge or vsinge any suche severall trade scyence or occupacon as they doo ffrom court day to courte day as occation shall requyre And also all those speciall orders devises bylawes and decrees as the same Wardons or Overseers and the reste of their said ffelowshippe and company or the moost p'te of them in their comon accustomyd assemblye and not elswhear shall and may agree vpon and think requysite and mete to be had ffor or touchinge any suche severall trade scyence or occupacon ffrome tyme to tyme the Sames ffurthw^th^ to showe declare putt vpp shewe furthe and referr over to the Alderman Recorder and Burgesses off this Boroughe at the next Courte then ffollowinge to alter augmente dymynyshe constitute and rule over and determyn order and reforme as by their good consideracons and discrecions shall seme indifferent requysite mete and convenyente.

The Oath of the Wardens consists for the most part of a recitation, almost word for word, of the duties as detailed above. It ends as follows:—

And all theis before recitid and all things els belonginge to trew wardons or Overseers off this yo^r^ company and fellowshippe and w^ch^ may tend to the betteringe off the same and the Chamb^r^ of this boroughe yowe shall well and faithfullye looke vnto folowe execute and doo ffrome hencefurthe ffor one hole year or so longe as ye shall contynewe in this your office to the best of your knowledge and power And shall kepe for Councaill all w^ch^ ought to be kepte for counsell and secrece as touchinge the Affayrs and matters of this Boroughe And from hencefurthe shall have and beare a naturall and dewe obedyence and dewtye to the Magistrates and Aucthorities of the same in all lawfull man^r^.—So help ye.

The office of Warden was compulsory for such as were duly elected, and a heavy penalty was inflicted on any who refused it. The following is from among orders for Cordyners in 1583:—

ITM it is likewise Ordeyned and constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd That iff any p'son or p'sons beinge A maister and freeman of that company whiche beinge lyked of and nomynatyd and chosen wardon of the same Companye by moost voyces And havinge sufficient knowledge of his election shall at any tyme hearafter refuse to stand to have the same And shall not take his othe in that behalff as by order he ought to doo shall forfeite and lose lykewise toc q°c x^s^ thone half wherof to be to the vse of the Chamber of this Boroughe and the other half to the company aforesayd &c.

Among the various orders which are scattered through the business records of the Borough, perhaps the greatest prominence is given to those relating to the taking of Apprentices. Foremost among these stands a general order:—

A RULE FOR TAKINGE OFF APPRINTICES

ITT IS Orderid and Constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd at this pnte Courte holden the xxiij^th^ day off ffebruarij Anno Dni 1575 That no pson or psonns either nowe Inhabitinge or

> hearafter Inhabitinge or beinge Mr. or ffree man off any Scyence trade or Occupacon whatsoever wthin this Buroughe of Kirkbye Kendall or librties off the same shall at any tyme or tymes hearafter take cause consente or pcure to be taken any Appryntice or Srvannte to be taughte or Instructyd at any Trade Scyence or occupacon whiche he shall or may vse or wheroff he shalbe ffree ffor any lesse or shorter Tearme or tyme than vijo years and not otherwise covennted bounde or pmysed but only by Indenture off Covennts off Appryntishippe wth Oblygacon or wthowt obligacon to be made betwixt suche Mr. and Appryntice as in suche cases is vsed and pvided whiche Indentures or A Counterpayn theroff everye suche Mr. shall brynge or cause to be broughte to be registred amongs the Comon Records of this Boroughe at the ffurste Courte day nexte after tyme of suche Indenture makynge and Seallinge or at the seconnd Court day after at the ffurtheste payinge therfore to the Recorder or Clarke takynge the recorde therof The ffee for the same sett dowen and dewe vpon payn to fforfeyte and lesse to the Chamber off this Boroughe ffor everye defaulte toc qoc xs Anye beinge off any other occupacon than A sherman And everye one beinge A sherman to fforfeyte and losse in that behalf xls toc qoc viz for takinge of suche pryntice And for not regestringe hym as aforesaid vjs viijd toc qoc.

The additional fine imposed on the Shearmen is no doubt due to the fact that their Company must have been of much greater importance than the rest, Kendal even at that time being an important centre of the woollen industry.

The 'term of seven years' is strongly insisted on, in orders made for the several companies at different times: and from the lists (dealt with later) it appears that the order was constantly evaded. The penalties for such an offence are given in several cases: *e.g.*, for Shearmen (1587), 40/-; for Mercers & Drapers (1587), £10; for Glovers (1588), 40/-; for Tanners (1592), £5; for Clothiers and Shearmen (1619), £10; for Mercers (later), £5; and for Pewterers (1673), £10. In each case, half of the fine was for the 'Chamber of the Borough,' and the other half for the use of the Company in question.

The wages paid to an apprentice are only given in one case, in a curious order of 1612 to the Tailors, which seems to place them in a very servile position:—

> IT is ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses being That every tailor now or hereafter dwelling within this borough or the liberties thereof shall upon one weeks warning repair and go to the house of every free inhabitant and there work and shall receive for the wages of their apprentices every one 2d. for a days work for the first three years of their apprenticeship and for the fourth and fifth years of their appenticeship 3d. for a day and not above and for the sixth and seventh years &c. 4d. for a whole days work and not above and for every journeyman being a stranger 3d. for one days work and not above under pain of as much as 12d. &c. FURTHER it is then ordered That every tailor freeman and inhabitant shall have free liberty (notwithstanding this former order) to work at their several shops 14 days only at their own pleasures before the several and yearly feasts of Christmas Easter and Whitsuntide and repair to no man's house but upon their own liking.

The standard of education of an apprentice is prescribed by an order of 5th May, 1641:—

> ITEM it is ordained by the Court at a Court Leet on the day and year above said That after this day no children shall be admitted to be bound apprentices unless the same apprentice so to be bound can write or read.
>
> By the Mayor and rest of the Alderman.

The case of an apprentice whose Master dies before the completion of his term is dealt with in a special order of about 1600:—

> FOR the provoking and better moving all and singular apprentices (now or hereafter being) of any trade science or occupation whatsoever within this borough and the liberties thereof to the performance of their several duties to their masters appertaining It is therefore ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses of the same borough (now being) That if any apprentice now or hereafter bound for seven years or more to serve in any trade science or occupation used or hereafter to be used whose master shall die or leave his trade before the end of the years contained in the indentures which said apprentice after such death or leaving shall offer himself to serve and do serve some other of the same borough or occupation &c. being a freeman during the term then unrun or any other person dwelling also here upon their refusal so long as he should have served his first master That then every such apprentice shall or may at all times after lawfully use and exercise the same trade science or occupation within this borough and the liberties of the same and have and enjoy his freedom here as fully and effectually as any other freeman of the same trade hath and in such force as if he had continually served his first master according to the first covenants within this borough (any custom order or usage to the contrary notwithstanding)

The procedure at the termination of the apprenticeship is the subject of a general order of (about) 1657:—

> IT is ordered that all apprentices within this borough that shall come and desire to be sworn freemen of this borough after they have served their apprenticeships shall immediately after they be sworn pay unto the chamberlains for the time being to the use of the chamber of this Borough so much moneys as the said apprentices are to pay to their several companies for their setting up And also that every apprentice so soon as he hath served his apprenticeship if he do not repair to this court the next court day after the expiration of his time and desire to be sworn freeman of this borough that then every such apprentice shall forfeit for such his neglect 3/4 and so 3/4 for every court day after that he shall neglect to do the same.

The special fee or 'footing' paid to the Company is given in several cases. Thus, in the case of the Cordyners (1578):—

> every p'son beinge A Cordyner before he be admyttyd ffreman shal pay to thuse of the Companye of Cordyners aforesayd toc q°c ij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ &c

In 1587, a series of orders for the Tailors contains an ordinance that

> every p'son being A Tailler shall pay to thuse of the Company off Tayllers at his furst vpsettinge of Shopp toc q°c ij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$

An entry of very special interest is the following, relating to the Shearmen, dated 1581:—

> Itm it is likewise Ordeyned That all and every p'son and p'sons beinge A shearman (when he hathe Served owte his Apryntishippe and before he be admyttid ffreeman of the same Company) shall pay to thuse of the hole Companye of Shearmen aforesaid beside Custome for the Playe xij$^{d}$ (suche psons as have alredie p$^{d}$ to the corporacon only exceptid)

The 'Playe' will be dealt with later.

It seems to have been understood, rather than stated in the orders, that Freemen had preference over foreigners and others in the matter of obtaining employment, for there are few cases in which this is explicitly laid down. But the following orders for the Tailors show what the practice was. The date must be about 1587, for they follow other orders of that date; but they are undated, and are immediately followed by some orders of 1579:—

> Itm it is Ordeyned and That iff any Inhabitannt w^th^in this Boroughe do sett any fforreyner Tayller not ffree on work he shall lose to thuse of the Chamb toc q°c x^s^ Or iff any fforreyner Tayller doo work at that occupacon w^th^in this Boroughe he shall losse lykewise to thuse of the Chamber aforesayd toc q°s x^s^ &c and also be taken vpp &c And if any question arrise between the M^r^ and Customer the wardons to sett order therein (yf they possibley can)

> Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any off the Companye off Taillers beinge ffree doo sett any Tayller fforreyner not ffree on worke before a ffreeman he shall lose to the vse of the Chamb^r^ and Company off Tayllers xx^s^ toc q°c.

Although the order for a seven years' apprenticeship was repeated again and again as a condition of obtaining the freedom of a Company, we find traces of a distinction between persons who obtained the freedom of the Borough after such an apprenticeship, and certain others; and of the possibility of persons other than apprentices obtaining both. This seems to apply only to the Shearmen. In their earliest orders, dated 1579, we find the following:—

> Itm it is Ordeyned &c that none shall occupye as a shearman &c save such as have payed or p'mysed benevolence to the corpacon and only psessinge and vsinge the same trade and suche as have s'ved or shall s've vij° years pryntishippe at the same and suche as shall lawfully purchase his and ther fredome vpon payn to lose toc q°c x^s^ wherof to the Chamber vj^s^ viij^d^ and to the Company iij^s^ iiij^d^ to be levyed &c

In their orders dated 1587, their powers seem to be enlarged:—

> ITEM it is ordained and constituted . . . That it shall not be lawful to or for the Wardens of the Company of Shearmen . . . to agree with compound for set down or take any fine recompence or sum of money of any person or persons coming as stranger for or in respect of admitting him into the freedom of the same company with out the advice and consent of the twelve Associates of that company . . . upon pain to forfeit and lose as much as 20s. to be levied to the uses aforesaid as above &c. Provided always that no such admission of any such stranger into that company shall stand good unless such stranger have purchased before the lawful freedom of this borough with the privity of the Wardens then being.

An order from a series of 1619 is somewhat similar, but goes much further:—

> ITEM it is further ordained constituted and established . . . that no person or persons not free of the same trade of Clothiers and Shearmen within the said borough shall at any time hereafter be made free of the same trade of Clothiers and Shearmen within the said borough save such person or persons as shall have served his or their apprenticeships at the same trade for and by the space of seven years at the least unless that such person or persons to be made free of that trade be first a freeman of the said borough and shall willingly yield and pay by way of composition for his or their admittance into the same company such sum or sums of money as the Alderman Recorder six of the Burgesses and Warders of the Company of Clothiers and

> Shearmen shall set down and agree upon, the one half to the use of the free inhabitants of the said borough and the other half to the use of the freemen of the same company.

There is no definite suggestion here that the person must be an 'operative' of the Trade. The earlier order may reasonably be taken to refer in general to a person who has served his apprenticeship elsewhere: but the later clearly waives the apprenticeship altogether; and the use of the word 'composition' strongly suggests a membership of a different nature to that of the apprentice who has served his term.

In other cases, the operative membership of the Companies is clearly implied. Thus, among orders for Glovers, of 1588, we find:—

> ITEM it is ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesaid That from henceforth it shall not be lawful to or for any person or persons whatsoever (other than such as now have or hereafter may have the lawful freedom of this Incorporation) or be a workman at the said trade at this time or such as have served already or hereafter shall serve lawful prenticeships here or such as hereafter upon some reasonable cause shall lawfully purchase the freedom of this borough at the hands of the Alderman and Head Burgesses of the same to keep shop or work or set up as master at the aforesaid occupation of a Glover within this Borough or the liberties of the same openly or privily upon pain to lose and forfeit for every month so doing as much as 6s. 8d. the one half thereof to be to the use of the chamber of this borough and the other half to the use of the same company to be levied as above.

In the Mercers' orders of about 1619, any such admission is expressly forbidden:—

> ITEM it is further ordained and established that no Warden of any Company of the said mysteries or trades for the time being by himself nor together with any other of the same company shall upon any composition or otherwise make or admit to be free of any of the said mysteries or trades within the said town any person or persons other than such as then shall have lawfully served as an apprentice by the space of seven years at the least in the same trade or mystery with some freeman of the said borough of the same mystery or trade upon pain to forfeit unto the chamberlain of the said borough for the time being five marks to the use of the Alderman and Burgesses for every time that he or they shall offend herein contrary to the true meaning of this said ordinance.

while the following order, relating to any persons who have been so admitted, appears to assume that they are operatives:—

> ITEM it is further ordained and established That no person or persons by colour or pretence of any such admittance or making free contrary to the said last mentioned ordinance or otherwise of himself shall contrary to the ordinance aforesaid use within the said borough any of the said mysteries or trades nor keep any shop within the said borough for traficking in any of the said mysteries nor sell any merchandizes or wares by retail within the said town which belong to any of the said mysteries or trades; but only at the fair times upon pain to forfeit unto the chamberlain of the said borough for the time being forty shillings to the use of the alderman and burgesses for every time that he or they shall offend herein contrary to the true meaning of the said ordinance.

Similar orders are given to the Pewterers in 1662, to the Joiners in 1677, and to the Butchers in 1683.

It is difficult to say exactly what was the difference between freedom of the Borough and freedom of a Company; the former seems to have been conferred normally in a purely formal manner, on payment of a fee, at the time when the latter was granted at the expiration of the term of apprenticeship. But that there was some peculiar footing on which persons were admitted to the Shearmen's Company seems to be implied by two entries in the list of Shearmen Freemen:—

> Thomas Dobson 1667, sworne freeman of the town onely and not of ye Company

and

> Antho: Warryner 1669, sworne freeman of the town only

The interest of these orders and entries lies chiefly in the fact that, as I hope to be able to show, admissions 'by composition' were being effected in the Company of the Wrights at least as early as 1617, and very likely earlier, and were duly entered *as such* in the rolls of Freemen; while, with only a very few exceptions, there is no evidence that this was the case in any other Company. I will deal with this when I come to analyse the lists of apprentices and freemen.

I now quote a few miscellaneous items of interest gleaned from the various orders.

An order 'concerninge tailers' of 1575 refers to the "Hole Company & ffellowshippe of tayllers"; and a similar title is given to several other of the Companies at various dates.

In 1577 was passed an order dealing with 'Play at unlawful games,' which is one of several which strongly reflect the language of the Masonic 'Old Charges,' though in this case the application is more limited. It ordains that:—

> no maner off pson or psons either Inkepers Alehowsekepers or other Inhabytannts whatsoever at any tyme or tymes hearafter have kepe or suffer any playe at cardes dyce tables bowells or any other vnlawfull games ffor moneye aile or bear or any other vnlawfull things at or in any his hers or ther howse or howses gardyns or yeards or any other place w^th^in the libtys hearoff eyther in tyme off devyne svyce or any Sondaye or holy day or in any nighte after tenn off the Clock

In the same year (1577) an order was issued dealing with building within the Borough; but it refers to the nuisance caused by encroachments due to sundry persons building out into the Market-places, and has no reference to the building trades.

In 1583 an order enjoins an annual payment by the Shearmen

> yearlye on the Mondaye nexte after the ffeaste day of S^t^ Andrewe the appostell or at the furst demanndinge of the same by the comon bedle thenafter

I have not found any other such reference.

In the same year (1583) occurs an interesting regulation as to 'guests' at the dinner of the newly-made Alderman:—

> ITM it is Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and xij^o^ principall Burgesses of this Burghe of Kirkbiekendall at this tyme beinge That iff any p'son whiche hearafter shalbe electid apoyntid and sworne into the office of the Alderman hear shall or do have at his entrannce into that Office at his furste and principall ffeaste or Dynn^r^ Beinge vswally on the furst Sondaye after his othe takinge any gentleman gentlewoman or strannger (others than the vicar and scholem^r^ heare or suche stranngers ffrennds as by channce onlye the same day Beinge in Towne maye haplye and sodenlie be called vpon and movid thervnto) But onlie his Brethern and Susters of that Companye or the xx^ii^iij^ti^ Assistannts and their wyves or Others Officers or others ffrennds and neighbours of this Boroughe shall forfeyte and losse to the Chamber of this Boroughe to be levyed as before toc q^o^c v^li^ &c.

To what exactly "Brethern and Susters" of the Company refers, is not clear, but there seems to be no reason to believe that women were normally admitted to the freedom of the Companies, though there are a few exceptions. Thus, in the list of 'Inkepers Fremen,' four widows appear:—

Relicta Christopheri Stanes
Relicta Thome Fawcett
Relicta Rallandi Warde
Relicta Anthonii Garnett

All were entered at the time when the list was first compiled, which seems to have been before 1591; and three are known from the street lists and the Parish registers to have been widows by 1575. We have no means of ascertaining whether their husbands were Innkeepers or not.

I have only found one example of a woman Freeman who appears to have been free, so to speak, in her own right. Among the Mercers' Freemen occurs the name of Elizabeth Pyckeringe, dated 31st July, 1595. How she obtained her freedom is not clear; but she was a spinster, and was not free in 1583, as the following order of that date shows:—

> ITM it is Ordeyned and constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd That Elizabeth Pyckeringe single-woman Or any other p'son not beinge ffre shall not ffrome hencefurthe Sell or vtter in grosse or by retaylle any kynnd of wares p'perly belonginge vnto A Salter as latlye she hathe done in any Shopp or other place within this Boroughe or the librties of the same vpon payne to lose and forfeyte to the Chamber of this Boroughe iff it be done on any Setterday vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$ and if it be done on any other day xij$^{d}$ toc q$^{o}$c And to be levyed as before &c.

A woman's name is also coupled with (presumably) her husband's in the enrolment of apprentices, when, in 1607, "Dorothai daughter of the late Thomas Clarke" was apprenticed to "Richard and Agnes Eleye semester." Richard Eleye is recorded elsewhere as a Tailor Freeman.

Another, and the only other, instance of a woman being duly enrolled as an apprentice is that of "Anna daughter of Leonard Hirdson," who was apprenticed in 1595 to Henry Wilkinson semyster.

More interesting is the apprenticeship, in 1633, of "Thomas son of George Hinde to Agnes Birkheade widow of Milo Birkhead." Miles Birkett was apprenticed as a Mercer in 1621, and became free in 1629. Against his name is written 'mort.' There are many indications that these lists were not kept up to date, but periodically added to, and no doubt Miles Birkett's name was not entered until after his death between 1629 and 1633. Agnes Birkett was presumably allowed to carry on the business after her husband's death.

A curious echo of the language of the Old Charges is found in a comment made by the Recorder at the close of a series of orders of 1683, in which the Weavers and Butchers each receive an organisation of their own, separating from the Shearmen and Fishers respectively:—

> These Laws and Constitutions although they are never so good and firm in law (quod plane dubito) yet I would not advise the Weavers to be too strict and severe with their Elder Brothers the Shearmen. Nor the Butchers with their Younger Brothers coming out of the country for these restraining Bylaws meet with no favour in Westminster Hall and your own Moothall is altogether improper since no man is admitted to be judex in propria cause. T. D. (Thomas Dalston, Recorder, 1685-1691.)

It is worth mentioning that two of the Companies issued Tokens during the seventeenth century, namely, the Mercers and the Shearmen. The former issued a piece with the Arms of the Mercers' Company—a full face bust, cloaked and crowned, and wearing a heavy chain—and the Arms of the Borough, which show

the teasel and wool-hook, both implements of the woollen industry. The token issued by the Shearmen shows the shears and teasel-brush of the trade. These were issued in 1657 and 1666 respectively.

I close this part of my subject by giving in full the first *series* of orders recorded, being those for the Cordyners, in 1578; and also one of the latest, those for the Joiners, in 1677, at the time when they separated from the Wrights and formed a Company by themselves. Though of late date, these incorporate miscellaneous orders made during the previous century; while the codes of orders made for Butchers, Weavers, Pewterers, Mercers, and Shearmen, spread over about eighty years, are clearly only developments one from another, and are all to very much the same purpose:—

## PERTICULERS OFF ORDERS

in occupacons and companyes as followethe

### Orders for Cordyners

26: Janu 1578 Impmis it is Ordeyned &c that iff any of the Company off Cordyners do absente hymselff ffrome any forewarnyd metinge off the same Company he shall lose to the vse of the same company vj$^{d}$ toc q$^{o}$c

### Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any M$^{r}$ Journeyman or hyeredman ffree of Cordyners doo Spetche or cause to be spetched any boots shoes &c (the knowen Coblers excepte) shall losse to the vse of the hole Company iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ toc q$^{o}$c And every Journeyman hyered man or pryntice Not ffree xij$^{d}$ toc q$^{o}$c

### Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c iff any M$^{r}$ ffreeman of Cordyners Do move or desyer any Journeyman hyered man se'vant or pryntice off any other p'sons to come to hym before suche tyme as he be lycenced or warnyd to departe frome his old M$^{r}$ shall lose to the Company aforesayd x$^{s}$ toc q$^{o}$c

### Cordyners

It is Ordeyned &c That no p'son or p'sons shall have or suffer Any Work to be done of A Cordyner at or in any Shopp or howse w$^{th}$in the librties on any Sondeye vpon payn to losse to the Company aforesayd toc q$^{o}$c iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ &c

### Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any Journeyman S'vannt or hyered man off Cordyners doo go ffrome or p'longe hymselfe purposly ffrome any his M$^{r}$ work or busynes (otherwise than vpon lawfull occacion shall lose to the same Companye toc q$^{o}$c iiij$^{d}$ (besides suche punyshem$^{t}$ as shalbe convenyent

### Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any Cordyner beinge M$^{r}$ doo put away or cast off any his Journeyman Servant or hyeredman w$^{th}$out A monthe warnynge Or iff any Journeyman S'vant or hyeredman off Cordyn$^{r}$ do dep'te or go ffrome any his Maister (w$^{th}$out A monthe warnynge shall losse to the Company aforesayd toc q$^{o}$c iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ &c

### Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That every p'son beinge A Cordyner before he be admyttyd ffreman shall pay to thuse of the Companye of Cordyners aforesayd toc q$^{o}$c iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ &c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That everye Occupyer by buyinge and Sellinge or Cuttinge tanned lether (beinge Cordyner) shall geve every quarter of A year to thuse of the same Company iiij[d] toc q[o]c

The complete text of the orders for the Joiners in 1677 is as follows:—

CONSTITUTIONS laws and ordinances made and established by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Kirkby in Kendall in the County of Westmoreland at their general convocation and court there holden the seventeenth day of July in the twenty eighth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c according to the power and authority to them given and granted by Letters Patents as well of the late Queen Elizabeth as of the late King Charles of blessed memory to them confirmed and examined and approved of by Sir Francis North knight Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas and Vere Bertie Esq[re] Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuit as good and necessary to be observed for the common profit of the King's people and especially for the well ordering and good government of the trade mystery and occupation of Joiners within the said Corporation.

IMPRIMIS it is agreed and consented unto by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the borough aforesaid that the freemen of the said trade of Joiners within the said borough of Kirkby in Kendall for the time being shall from henceforth be a joint perfect and entire company fellowship and society within the said borough of and within themselves and that they shall be so allowed and called and that they shall and may have their open meetings at some convenient place within the said borough from time to time when they shall have occasion so to do (at their own charges to be provided) there to choose and appoint amongst themselves yearly two three or four sufficient men which shall be wardens of their company and other officers for the better executing of such reasonable necessary and profitable laws and ordinances as now are or hereafter shall be lawfully made ordained and allowed as fit and convenient for the common good benefit and advancement of the said trade and agreable to the laws and statutes of this Kingdom.

ITEM it is further ordained and established by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses aforesaid that none of the said joiners or any for their use shall open their shops or shopwindows with an intent to sell any goods on the Lords day or Sunday within the said borough or shall work upon the said day in their shops or any place else within the said borough except it be to make a coffin upon an extraordinary and urgent occasion upon pain to forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being for every such offence the sum of two shillings to be levied and distrained for upon their goods and chattels or entered by action of debt in like manner as the breach of other byelaws and orders within the said borough are levied and distrained for one moiety whereof to go to the use of the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other to the use of the said Wardens of the said company of Joiners.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that if any of the said company shall at any time hereafter absent himself from any meeting being appointed by the wardens of the said company having sufficient

summons or notice thereof by the Beadle or officer of the said company for that time being appointed by the space of half an hour without license of the wardens or some of them or be let by sickness that every such person and persons so absenting himself shall lose and forfeit to the chamberlains aforesaid to the use aforesaid the sum of two shillings to be levied and recovered as aforesaid to the uses aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that every freeman of the said borough using and exercising the said trade of a joiner and keeping shop within the said borough shall from henceforth pay quarterage to the use and behoof of the said company that is to say sixpence for every quarter of a year to be paid quarterly to the known wardens of the said company or the one of them for the time being for the maintenance of the officers of the said company and other necessary employments for the good of the said company upon pain that everyone making default herein shall forfeit for every default to the chamberlains of the said borough the sum of two shilling the one half whereof to be to the use of the said Mayor and Aldermen of the said borough and the other half to the use of the said company of joiners to be levied and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons now using or which shall hereafter shall use the said trade of a joiner within the said borough shall take above two apprentices in the said trade in every seven years unless the said apprentice or apprentices shall happen to die within their term of apprenticeship or depart from their master and leave the said borough during the said time and then the said master may take another in his or their steads after his or their death or departure as aforesaid and every of the said apprentices which shall be bound at any time hereafter shall be bound by indenture to the said trade for no less time than seven years and the said master or masters shall not at the end of his said apprenticeship make him or them free of such mystery or trade except he or they have served as an apprentice or apprentices during the term of seven years at the least and that every person or master taking an apprentice to the said trade shall within one month next after his taikng of him cause the name and sirname as well of the said master as apprentice and time of binding to be entered with the town clerk or clerk of the recognizances in the records of the court for that purpose upon pain for every master that shall any way make default in any of the said premises to forfeit for every offence to the chamberlains of the said borough fifty shillings one moiety whereof to be to the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and another moiety to the use of the said company of joiners to be levied distrained and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons other than such as are already admitted free of the said company of Joiners or hereafter shall be admitted as aforesaid free of the same shall work at the said trade of a joiner now particularly and distinctly or at any time heretofore particularly and distinctly used by the said trade of Joiners from the trade of Carpenters within the said borough upon pain that all and every person that shall do the same except he be admitted into the said company of joiners shall for every such default forfeit and lose to the chamberlains of the said borough the sum of forty shillings one moiety thereof to be to the use of the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other moiety to the use of the said company of Joiners to be levied and recovered as abovesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons shall hereafter keep any shop or room within the said borough and sell any wainscot or any other thing particularly and distinctly belonging

to the said trade of joiners within the said borough or shall work at the said trade within the said borough but such as do now lawfully use the same within the said borough and are or shall be free of the said trade and admitted into the said company and such as are or shall hereafter be brought up lawfully as an apprentice in the said trade within the said borough by the space of seven years the times of usual fairs held within the said borough only excepted upon pain to forfeit for every such offence to the chamberlains of the said borough for and to the uses abovementioned the sum of twenty shillings to be levied and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no warden of the company of joiners within the said borough for the time being by himself or together with any other of the said company shall upon any composition or otherwise make and admit to be free of the said mystery or trade within the said borough any person or persons other than such as then shall have lawfully served as an apprentice by the space of seven years at the least in the same trade or mystery with some freeman of the same borough in the same mystery or trade upon pain to forfeit to the chamberlains of the same borough to the uses above limited the sum of five pounds for every fault and offence contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons under colour or pretence of any such admittance or making free of the said trade contrary to the last mentioned ordinance or otherwise of himself contrary to the ordinances aforesaid shall use within the said borough the said mystery or trade of a joiner or sell any wainscot or other wares thereunto belonging except in the fair time only upon pain to forfeit for every offence to the chamberlains aforesaid the sum of forty shillings to be levied and collected to the uses abovesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no freeman that now is or shall be free of the said mystery or trade within the said borough shall join partner or take to be joint partner with him in the said trade within the said borough any person or persons either foreign or townsman not being free of the said trade or mystery or that may not lawfully use the said trade or mystery within the said borough nor trafic or deal in the said trade within the said borough for any person or persons not being free as aforesaid upon pain that as well the taker as he that doth so join not being free as aforesaid shall forfeit for every such offence to the chamberlains of this borough to the use aforesaid the sum of forty shillings for every offence committed contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons being free of the said company shall at any time hereafter employ any journeyman to work in the said trade as his or their journeyman until he and the wardens of the said company be satisfied that the said journeyman hath served seven years to the said mystery or art and if any journeyman being hired by the year to the said trade or mystery within the said borough shall depart or go away from his master without one month's warning by him first given of his departure and if any other master being free of the said trade within the said borough shall hire such journeyman before his such giving warning or continuance as aforesaid in every of the said cases as well the master as the said journeyman that shall offend herein shall forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough to the uses aforesaid the sum of twenty shillings for every time offending contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance. All which pains penalties and sums of moneys to be forfeited by virtue of these acts and ordinances or any of them shall

> be levied by distress of the goods of the offenders to be taken for the same or by action of debt bill or plaint to be commenced in the name of the said chamberlains of the said borough for the time being in such court or courts where the same shall properly lie the moiety or one half of all which pains penalties forfeitures and sums of money to be levied distrained and recovered as aforesaid (the costs of suit deducted) to be to the use of the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other moiety to and for the use of the wardens of the said company of joiners to be levied and distrained for and in the name of the said chamberlaines for the time being so oft as need shall require.

I now turn to the examination of the lists of Freemen and the roll of Indentures. The latter consists of 423 entries, the earliest being of date 1571, and the latest 1645. These do not appear to have been entered as they occurred, as they are by no means in chronological order: it is more likely that the roll was added to at quite irregular intervals of several years.

The lists of Freemen are nineteen in number, and form membership lists of the several Companies. Besides the Companies which had separate existences in 1575, there are also lists of:—

Saddlers—not included with the Tanners.
Glovers—not included with the Surgeons and Scryveners.
Armerers & Hardwaremen—not included with the Smiths.
Labourers.
Feltmakers & Haberdashers, who apparently separated from the Mercers about 1639.
Weavers, who separated from the Shearmen in 1683.
Pewterers, who separated from the Smiths in 1662.

These lists were evidently made out, for the most part, within about ten years after the book was commenced, a few names having against them the dates at which the freedoms were conferred. They were then continued, fairly systematically; dates being appended in almost every case. Thus, in the Chapmen's list, the names from 1594 are dated. In the Shearmen's, 1581 and 1582 appear against some of the original names, while the regular dating commences with 1587.

Both the roll of Indentures and the lists of Freemen are incomplete, especially the former, for among the Freemen we find the names of many whose apprenticeships are not recorded; while among those noted as taking apprentices, some do not appear in the lists of Freemen. The incompleteness can best be seen from the accompanying tables, which cover only the period within which the Freemen have dates appended in the lists, thus making identification possible. It will be seen that the number of Freemen is not more than two-thirds of what it should be, and probably a little over a thousand Freemen and rather more than three thousand Apprentices would be something like the correct figures.

There are only 128 apprentices who can be identified with corresponding names on the Freemen's lists; but these are enough to give a sort of idea of the average length of apprenticeships, which I have shown on another table. The longest recorded was of nineteen years, and the shortest was one year, while the average is 8·7.

I have added also a table showing comparative numbers of Apprentices and Freemen between 1590 and 1645, which still further emphasises the incompleteness of the Roll, especially if it is borne in mind that quite a large percentage (over 45 %) of apprentices never reached their freedom.

The lists of Freemen are, on the whole, quite straight-forward. They mostly give the Christian names and surnames, occasionally with a note of some kind; and, after about 1585, mostly with the date appended. With the exception of the Wrights' list, they contain no indications that any person included was not free of the Company in the ordinary way, by apprenticeship. There are, however, a few examples of non-operatives on the lists; and also a few examples of operatives of one trade who are included in the Company of another.

Thus, the last name on the Chapmen's list is that of

*Mr.* Thomas Fisher (jur. 5° Oct$^{r}$ 1646)

while the list of Mayors, which, up to 1672, shows the trade to which each belonged, gives "Thomas ffisher, gent" as Mayor in 1656 and 1669.

The epithet 'gent.' does not, however, necessarily imply that the person was not, or had not been, an operative of a trade: for, of eleven names so distinguished up to 1672, seven can be found on the lists of Freemen, and at least one of these obtained his freedom by apprenticeship. This was George Archer, 'gent.,' Mayor in 1658. He was apprenticed as a Cordyner in 1635, and obtained his freedom in 1648. He was sworn as a Burgess in 1654 and an Alderman in 1655; and an amusing note appears under the latter date among the orders made by the Mayor and Aldermen:—

> For a gown — IT is ordered that Mr. George Archer shall provide a gown like the rest of the Aldermen's gowns against Saturday come sennight if there be materials for the same within the town upon pain to forfeit 40s.

The Mercers' list contains, among the original entries, the name of *Mr.* Robrte Byndlosse, who was certainly not an operative. In the list he is described, with seven others, as a "Free Foreigner." The seven others are among twenty-three foreigners, who, having contributed towards the cost of obtaining the Charter of the Borough, were admitted to its freedom in 1575/6; and a record of their 'compositions' and copies of their licences are made in the book. No such record is kept of Robert Bindloss; but he heads the list of 'fforeyners ffremen' in the early part of the book, as "Mr. Robrte Byndlose esquyer"; and there is also the following note among the gifts towards the Grammar School in 1588:—

> £10 — MR. ROBERT BYNDLISE Esq$^{re}$ born in Helsington within this parish of his good zeal and disposition yet being living did give towards the exhibition of the said Grammar School in ready money ten pounds &c.

The Mercers' list also contains the name of *Mr.* John Park, 1662; but beyond the fact that John Park was Mayor in the following year, no further information is forthcoming.

The prefix 'Mr.' is also given to Giles and Christopher Redman in the list of Feltmakers and Haberdashers. The former appears first on the Mercers' list, as free in 1616; but the Haberdashers seem to have separated from the Mercers at about 1639, for of three others, bracketed together at that date at the head of their list, another name also appears on the Mercers' list as well. Giles Redman took apprentices as a Feltmaker in 1630, 1636, and 1640; but he was evidently a leading citizen, for he served as an Alderman and Burgess from 1645, and was Mayor in 1649, when he is described as:—

Egidius Redman, Haberdasher . . . sen' Ald$^{r}$man & Justic pc

Christopher Redman, whose freedom is dated 1658, was a Burgess in 1659, and was Mayor in 1679 and 1695. There is no indication in the record as to whether he was an operative or not; but he is described as 'Gentleman' in the Charter of Charles II., in which he is named as one of the first twelve Aldermen under the new Charter.

One more name demands a notice. On the Armerers' list is that of *Mr.* Thomas Sands, 1641. He was sworn as an Alderman in 1645; but against his name appears:—

dislocat' p ordin Parlti

I have not been able to discover to what this refers; but Thomas Sands was Mayor in 1647, where he is noted as 'gen.' He appears also, from a will, to have been a nephew of Thos. Brawthwaite, Recorder of Kendal from 1648 to 1673.

Nicholson, however, the historian of Kendal, states[1] that he "had the reputation of having gained a 'considerable estate' in buying and selling wool and cottons, called 'Kendal cottons'"; and a token issued by him in 1656 bears the teasel and wool-hook as well as a comb—all implements of the woollen trade. This is the only example I have found outside the Wrights' Company, of a man known to have been in any sense an operative whose name is entered on a list other than that of his own trade.

Among the other early Mayors described as 'gentlemen' are the names of Thomas Sleddall, who appears on no list,[2] Robtus Crosfeild, who is on the list of Scryveners; Rowland Dawson, who was a mercer; Gervasius Benson, apparently of no trade; and Thomas Fisher, who was a Chapman. It is worth mentioning that among the persons chosen by Act of Parliament in 1643 as the Committee for the County of Westmorland in the matter of sequestering the estates of 'notorious delinquents' occur the names of 'Rowland Dawson . . . Esquire' and 'Gervace Benson, Gentleman.' These may not, of course, refer to the persons under discussion; but it is more than likely that they do.

The general impression conveyed by these examples is that from time to time men of standing who wished to take part in the administration of the Borough did, in spite of the orders to the contrary, obtain admission to the membership of the Companies without any sort of apprenticeship. Curiously enough, none of the examples which I have been able to find is on the list of the Shearmen's Company—the only one in which the practice was expressly allowed. It is not clear why this membership was taken up, as it does not appear to have been a necessary condition for holding a Municipal office: for, though the lists (as has already been pointed out) are far from complete, it seems unlikely that such members of a Company would have been omitted from the lists. That in some cases the admission was of a complimentary nature seems to be proved by the admission in 1676 of two of the Judges on the Northern Circuit—Lord Chief Justice Sir Francis North and Baron Bertie—to the freedom of the Scryveners' Company.

Before leaving the lists in general and passing to a special consideration of the Wrights' list, I ought to say that I have not gone over every name on all the lists, to find out cases of identity between names on two lists, or to discover non-operatives on the lists. I have attempted to trace a good many, but not all; and I have at least satisfied myself that no Master recorded as taking an apprentice in any trade was a member of the Company of any other trade, and that examples of men whose names are on more than one list, if any, are very few and far between.

This does not, however, apply to the list of "Wrights, Wallers, &c.," which is entirely peculiar, and requires separate treatment. It consists of 86 names: the first six undated, and the remainder almost all dated, the dates ranging in chronological order from 1590 to 1658. Down to 1617, the list presents no peculiar features; but in that year appears, for the first time, an entry which is repeated at intervals down to 1626, and which is without parallel among the other lists. Against 17 out of the 25 names between these dates is made the note:

p'. composicon

A number of the names so distinguished have actually their trades entered: thus, there are a blacksmith, a slater, a pewterer, a labourer, a kersey-weaver, and a joiner. Certain others have not the note 'p. composicon,' but are of other trades; and these include a 'musitian,' a petty chapman, a brasier, a cordyner, a fletcher, a feltmaker, and a labourer. There are other names later marked as of other trades, and these consist of a yeoman (1647), and a woolman (1648). By way of

[1] *Annals of Kendal* (1861), p. 195.

[2] I have in my possession an original 'quit-claim' or release, of 1637, in which Thomas Sleddall is described as 'Yeoman.' This document, besides that of Thos. Sleddall, also contains the signatures of Robt. Crosfeild and Thomas Sander.

distinction of an ordinary case from these special admissions, one name, that of Thomas Lorde, cowper, of 1619, has against it the entry:

p'. appren.

There are, besides, four names of men who were almost certainly of other trades, though this is not noted. These are:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ricus Walker | 1594 |
| James Ayreye | 1601 |
| Isacus Shawe | 1628 |
| Bartholomeus Gaunt | 1649 |

Richard Walker, or another of the same name, was a bowyer and fletcher, who took one James Airey as apprentice in 1594—the same date as the freedom recorded on the Wrights' list. The name is not common; and the Parish Registers only reveal the existence of one man who fits the case—Richard Walker, of Patton, who had a son in 1594.

The name of James Ayrey must be taken in conjunction with that of Richard Walker. The name is too common to identify with certainty; but the only other more or less contemporary person mentioned in the record who might be confused with him was apprenticed as a Joiner in 1607, and is entered duly on the list of Freemen under date 1616. It is worth mentioning that the first James Airey obtained his freedom in 1601—exactly seven years after the recorded apprenticeship of 1594: and this fact may perhaps be allowed to have some significance.

Isaac Shaw is also an uncommon name. It appears also at the same date in the list of Armerers and Hardwaremen, immediately below that of Mr. Thomas Sands, though much out of place, for names dated 1636, 1640, and 1641 are entered above it. That he was of that trade is proved by the fact that he took an apprentice as a Hardwareman in 1632. I suggest that at the time of his becoming free, he was duly entered in the list of the Company to, or through, which he paid his composition; and that, much later, on the occasion of a 'making up' of the Armerers' list, he was entered on that list out of place. One example of a name entered on *two* lists is that of Christopher Fisher, Petty Chapman, who is entered on both the Wrights' and the Petty Chapmen's lists, both under date 1621.

Bartholomew Gaunt is an even less common name; and there seems no reason to doubt that he is identical with the Bartholomew Gaunt who took apprentices as a Barber-Surgeon in 1640 and 1643. This name presents a further interesting feature, as the freedom on the Wrights' list is recorded at 1649—nine years after Bartholomew Gaunt had taken his first apprentice.

The conclusions which may legitimately be drawn from these facts seem to be as follows:—

(i.) That the freedom of the Wrights' Company was frequently conferred without any apprenticeship to the trade in an entirely peculiar manner. The only examples (if any) in other Trades were confined to men of standing and position; while only one example is found of an operative of one trade on the list of another.

(ii.) That the Wrights' Company (probably alone among the Companies) was, or included, something more than a mere organisation for the regulating of the Trade.

(iii.) That the full freedom of the Borough could be obtained by a man who obtained that of the Wrights' Company, whether by composition or apprenticeship.

(iv.) That, nevertheless, these two classes were not on the same footing; but that something more was offered to those who purchased the freedom.

(v.) That in some cases men, already free of one Company, purchased the freedom of the Wrights' Company in addition.

Not the least interesting fact brought out by this examination is that this Company was receiving members on this peculiar footing as early as 1594, if the identity of Richard Walker with the Bowyer and Fletcher of that name is considered as substantiated.

It is perhaps worth while to attempt to estimate the position of the Trade Companies of Kendal in relation to the Municipal organisation. A few remarks on this subject may not be out of place here, though their bearing on the Masonic aspect of the question can only be remote and indirect.

The first thing we notice on studying the history of the Borough is that, although we get the impression that the Trades were already organised into Companies, there is no mention of their organisation or privileges in the Elizabethan Charter of 1575. It is possible that the Town may have enjoyed the privileges of a Gild *before* it obtained its Charter; but there seems to be no trace of a Royal grant of any kind previously. At the same time, the Companies appear to have no *joint* organisation—*i.e.*, to be so many separate units: while they are completely under the control of the Alderman and Burgesses.

The monopolies granted to the Freemen of the several Companies may, then, either be the remaining traces of Gild privileges which had been in existence before the Charter; or they may have arisen from the interpretation by the Alderman and Burgesses of 'liberties, privileges,' etc. (libertates privilegia) as granted to them in their Charter, and of their charge 'to grant, constitute, ordain, make and establish from time to time such laws, institutions, conditions, ordinances, and constitutions which to them or the greater part of them shall seem to be good, wholesome, useful, honest and necessary according to their sound judgment for the good order and good government . . . of all officers, artificers, inhabitants, and residents whomsoever . . .' (concedendi constituendi ordinandi faciendi et habendi de tempore in tempus hujusmodi leges instituta jura ordinaciones et constitutiones que eis seu eorum majori parti bona salubria utilia honesta et necessaria juxta eorum sanas discreciones fore videbitut pro bonis regimine et gubernacione . . . omnium officiarum artificum inhabitancium et residentium quorumconque . . .). It must be remembered that an important Statute of 1562 had finally made the seven-years' apprenticeship compulsory for all trades; and the monopoly of each Trade thus passed into the hands of the 'Masters,' while short lists of qualified Freemen were available as a basis for the organisation of the Companies. On the whole, the apparent absence of any inter-Company control throughout the period covered by the Record rather points to the organisation having arisen out of the Charter than to its having had any existence earlier.

We are, in either case, left with the very difficult question, as to the relation of the freedoms conferred by the Companies on the one hand and by the Borough on the other, and to what extent either was a condition of the other. It would appear that at the date of the Charter all the inhabitants—at any rate those capable of making any contribution to the expenses of the Borough—automatically obtained its freedom; while there is no reference later to any manner of obtaining that freedom except as a formal act immediately following the grant by a Company at the end of a term of apprenticeship. And yet we see evidence of the freedom of the Borough being in the possession of men who appear to have been members of no Company; and such membership does not appear to have been a necessary qualification for Municipal office.

I suggest that the explanation of the whole situation may be somewhat on the following lines. The Statute of 1562 to a great extent rendered obsolete the old Gild privileges, which had in most cases already been largely absorbed in the ordinary usages of Municipal control.[1] Kendal, on obtaining her Charter, modelled her Trade organisation on that of many other Boroughs; but even when it was shaped, it was defunct: and the Companies probably never played any real part in Municipal affairs, as the Alderman and Burgesses took, and kept, complete control; and the Companies were thus merely the aggregate of qualified tradesmen—their chief function being the enforcing of the laws as to apprentices.

[1] Gross: '*The Gild Merchant*,' chap. ix.

rather than the safeguarding of privileges. The formation of a Trade organisation at just this transition period may prove of great interest and value to the expert student of Gild history.

Whether any further support can be obtained from a scrutiny of the dates at which freedoms are conferred, I would not like to say. But it is a significant fact that, out of 183 days on which freedoms are dated, between 1587 and 1620 (I have not examined them further), no less than 107 were Thursdays. This alone points to the whole process as having been a 'civic' rather than a 'trade' ceremony: and this is further supported by the fact that on several occasions a number of admissions were made on the same day. Thus, to mention the examples on the largest scale, in 1594, July 2nd saw the admission of not less than 26 Freemen, representing 10 different Companies; while on Aug. 8th there were 12 admissions into 6 Companies. We have some slight evidence, moreover, that the entries for each date in the Book of Record were made off a single sheet; for under the date Aug. 8th, 1594, when one member was admitted into the Wrights' Company, two other names have been added and erased, and are found under the same date in the list of Labourers. There may be other examples of this, but I have not had sufficient opportunity of investigating the original of the Book of Record.

These circumstances seem to me to point very strongly to the conclusion that the Companies were merely the aggregates of Freemen who had been given their freedom to trade at the same time as the freedom of the Borough was formally conferred; but that this freedom of the Companies was an almost meaningless and obsolete thing.

I have already quoted one reference to the "Play" from among the orders of the Shearmen in 1591. This, by itself, even if the Corpus Christi Plays were not closely associated with the Trade Companies and Gilds, would justify the inclusion here of all the material available on the subject. Unfortunately, there is very little to be found.

Under date 1586, five years after the date of the reference in the Shearmen's orders, appears the following rather sententious order:—

FFOR THE PLAYE

FORASMUCHE as Very many and dyvers of the Comen Inhabitnnts of this Incorpacon (suche of them onlye as rathe^r^ preferr th^r^ owne pryvate comodities and the comon customes and vsage hear and more respecte the Satisfyinge of their owne delights and fantasyes by A great deale than the Benyfite and comon welthe of all others in gen'all beinge the greater p'te) doo covytt and earnestlye Crye for the havinge of Corpus xpi play yearlye vsuallye to be had played and vsed heare as in former tyme without admyttinge or allowinge almost any occacon or necessitie for the stayinge thereof in any yeare Holdinge pryvate opynyons some tymes and affirmynge that the havinge or denyinge therof onlye restethe in the Alderman for the tyme beinge Althoughe (that in trewth) in all matters and causes belonginge this Bourghe he is (as it were) tyed to the Societie Counsell and Brotherhead of others w^th^ him Not havinge power in hymselff to appoynte and sett downe Orders and constitucons of hymselff in all things specially in suche as generally Concerne the Comon state and affayrs of the same Bourghe without the ayde and counsell and grave advise and assistannce of his Bretherne the head Burgesses adioined vnto hym ffor the redresse and certayntye of reformacion wherof It is Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and head Burgesses of this Boroughe of Kyrkbykendall That it shall not be lawfull at no tyme hearafter ffor the Alderman of the same Bourghe for the tyme beinge or any his deputie or deputies to appoynte and geve lycence ffor the same playe of Corpus xpr. or any other stage playes to be had or vsed heare onlye of hymselff in any yeare at or aboute the accustomyd tyme therof or at any other tyme Excepte it shalbe lyked of and consentid vnto by his sayd

Brethern the head Burgesses or the moore p'te of them from tyme to tyme beinge upon payne to forfeyte and losse to the vse of the Chamber of this Bourghe toc q°c c$^s$ (five pounds).

The Corpus Christi Plays were, however, acted at least once more in Kendal, in 1604. This date is given in a MS. chronicle of 1736, written by one Bartolomew Noble, a native of the Town; and the date is confirmed by John Weever in the following passage relating to a monument at Queenhithe [1]:—

> This Marlow was Lord Maior in the yeare 1409. in whofe Maioraltie there was a Play at Skinners Hall, which lafted eight dayes (faith *Stow*) to heare which, moft of the greateft Eftates of England were prefent. The Subiect of the play was the facred Scriptures, from the creation of the world: They call this, *Corpus Chrifti* Play in my countrey, which I haue feene acted at Prefton, and Lancafter, and laft of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King *Iames;* for which the Townfmen were fore troubled; and vpon good reafons the play finally fupprest, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the kingdome.

There is an interesting allusion to the Kendal Play in the autobiography of the Rev. John Shawe, sometime Vicar of Rotherham, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He had to leave his Parish for political reasons, and repaired to Manchester; while there he held the living of Lymme in Cheshire. The following story, which I quote in full,[2] doubtless refers to the 1604 performance of the Plays:—

> I had not long been in Manchester before a people that lived above fifty miles from Manchester, in Furness-fells in Lancashire, at and about Cartmell, who were exceeding ignorant and blind as to religion (whereof I could tel very sad experiments) having, I wel know not how, heard of me, sent two persons of quality to seek me out, who found me at sir George Booth's, at Dunham, to desire me that I would come to instruct them in religion for some seven or eight weeks; and they hoped by that time they might come to see their need and worth of a preaching ministry, and to seek to get one of their own; I was much affected with their lamentable case and their sad and sensible expressions thereof, and consented thus far to them, that if the people of Lymme would give me leave, I would go thither for eight weeks to see what God had there for me to do; it seemed somewhat like that call, Acts xvi. 9. "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The people of Lymme, though at first offended, yet after hearing one of the gentlemen that were sent to tell their miserable case and ignorance, they were as eager as I, that I should go over to Cartmell, provided that there was an able man to supply their church till I returned, which was accordingly effected. And I went to Cartmell about the latter end of april, 1644, and about the beginning of may following my wife came to me into Cartmell where I found a very large spacious church, scarce any seats in it,—a people very ignorant, yet willing to learn: so, as I had frequently some thousands of hearers: I, seeing my work great, a large feild and looking something white towards harvest, and knowing my stay must be short, and finding also four chapels in the parish, I preached and catechised often seven or eight times in one week; I preached and catechised in season and out of season at every one of the chapels, and usually the Churches were so throng by nine o'clock in the morning that I had much ado to get to the pulpit; I also preached at other churches round about in the week's-day. One day an old man (about sixty) sensible enough in other things, and living in the parish of Cartmell-fell coming to me

[1] *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 405.
[2] *Memoirs of the Life of Master John Shawe* (Hull, 1824), p. 35.

about some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion; I asked him "how many Gods there were?" he said, "he knew not"; I informing him, asked him again "how he thought to be saved?" he answered "he could not tell," yet that was a harder question than the other: I told him the way to salvation by Jesus Christ, God-Man, who as he was man shed his blood for us on the cross, &c. "oh sir," said he, "I think I heard of that man you spoke of, once in a play at Kendall, called Corpus Christi play, where there was a man on a tree, and blood ran down, &c." And after that, he professed that though he was a good churchman, that is, he constantly went to common prayer at their chapell, yet he could not remember that ever he heard of salvation by Jesus Christ, but in that play."

At a later date, the Corpus Christi Plays were replaced by Gild festivals and processions, which appear to have been held at irregular intervals. I have not been able to obtain any information as to the early form of these festivals; but the last two were held in 1744 and 1759. A copy of the handbill with a programme of the last of the processions has been preserved, and is in the Kendal Museum. It is said to have been conducted on such a ruinous scale that the townsmen agreed to abolish it, and none has been held since.

The Trade Companies dragged out a less and less useful existence until the end of the eighteenth century. I have not attempted to deal with them beyond the period covered by the "Boke off Record"; but will content myself with mentioning that the last Company to be formed was that of the Hosiers, who were successful in 1732 in a petition for recognition as a distinct Company. The last to survive was that of the Cordyners, who came to an end in 1799, owing to their inability to win a case imposing a fine of ten pounds on a person, not free of the Company, who attempted to do business in the Town.

The interesting items, such as they are, are to be found in the earlier stages of the history of the Borough; and I can only, in conclusion, express the hope that I have to some extent succeeded in extracting most of them, and that they will be found to throw some real light on the relationship of these Trade Companies to our own Fraternity.

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## APPENDIX A.

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 1.

Wrights. Wallers &c.

Rallannd Sheffeild Jur.
Willm Overennd Jur
John Wadesonn Jur:
Thomas Nicolsonn Jur.[1]
Willm Thompson. Waller Jur
John ffissher. Jur[2]
1590 Nich'us Norreye. Jur
1590 Peter Hodgsonn Jur
1590 George Mattsonn Jur[3]
1590 Robrte Jackson thrower Jur[4]
1590 George Byrkheade. Jur
1590 John Wilkinson. Jur[5]

| | |
|---|---|
| 25: Novem 1591 | Thomas Stevynsonn: Jur |
| 9: maii 1591 | Thomas Walker: Jur |
| ii: July 1594 | Thomas Collinson Jur |
| eodem die | John Lowes. Jur (*erased*) |
| eodem die | Robrte Bonde Jur (*erased*) |
| 8 August. 94 | Ricus Walker: Jur [6] |
| ii Novembr 94: | Robrte Lancaster. Jur |
| ii° Octobr: 99 | Georgius Wilsonn cowp. Jur |
| | Gawen Caslowe Jur |
| pmo maii 1601 | Edward Alarbye Jur |
| 19 Novembr 1601 | James Ayreye Jur [6] |
| 21 Sept 1607 | Richard Shawe Jur |
| eodem die | Willm Bussher Jur |
| eodem die | Robrte Hodgsonn Jur |
| eodem die | Willm Laycock Jur |
| eodm die | John Dobsonn Jur [2] |
| eodm die | Richard Jacksonn Jur [7] |
| eodem die | John ffayrer paynter. Jur |
| Octobr 1607 | Willm Bussher Jur 1607 [8] |
| Octobr 1607 | Nicholas Hodgsonn 1607 [2] |
| Octobr 1607 | Thomas Jacksonn Jur 1607 [2] |
| Octobr 1607 | James Burgesse Jur 1607 |
| Octobr 1607 | Stevyn Bussher Jur 1607 |
| Jan 1607 | Edward Archer 1607 [9] |
| eodem die | Thomas Ayreye 1607 [10] |

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 2.

xx° die februarij 1616

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Allen Birkett Jur [11] | |
| | Jacobus Ayrey Jur eod die [12] | |
| | Robtus Jopson Jur eod' die | |
| | Robtus Dickinson Jur eod' die | |
| Martij 16 1617 | Thomas ffrench Jur p' Composicon [13] | |
| Octobris 16° | Willmus Nealson [14] | } |
| 1618 | Randall Robinson [13] | } p' Composicone |
| | Rowlandus Stainton [13] | } |
| Aprill 7th | Robertus Edmundson [13] | } |
| 1619 | Josephus Sexton [13] | } p' composicon |
| Aprill 15th 1619 | Henricus Walker blacksmith p' composic | |
| Aprill 29th 1619 | Thomas Lorde Cowper p' appren | |
| July xxith 1619 | Ambrosius Hetherington p' Composic [15] | |
| eod die | Gabriell Dawson p' Composic [13] | |
| | Christoferus Turner slater p' Composic | |
| August 12th 1619 | Richardus fforth Jur. pewterer p' Composic [16] | |
| September 23 1619 | Robertus Browne Jur. labourer p' composic | |
| October 14 1619 | Johes Dickinson Jur p' Composic [13] | |
| | Joh'es Slater Jur p' Composic [13] | |
| Januarij 29° 1619 | Milo Atkinson musitian. Jur. | |
| Marche 1 1620 | Joh'es Kellett kersey weaver Jur: p' Composic | |
| May 24th 1621 | Christoferus ffisher Petty chapman. [17] | |
| Aprill 4th | Johes Hodgson brasyer Jur: | |
| October 10th 1622 | Thomas Becke Cordiner Jur. [18] | |
| October the las | Edwardus Tarne fletcher Jur | |
| October second | Christopher Guy feltmaker | |
| 1623 | Willmus Doddinge labourer | |

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 3.

xiij° die Januarij 1624

Will'mus Matson Jur. p' Composic. mort [13]
Will'mus Collinson Joyner Jur xiij° die Julij 1626 p' Comp
Jacobus Washington Joyner Jur eod' die
Robertus Philipson Jur viij° die Maij 1628. mort
Bevis Harrison Jur eod' die.
ffranciscus Drinkell Jur eod' mort
Isacus Shawe Jur eod' die [6]
Richardus Castley Jur xx° die Julij 1630.
Chr. Walker Jur. 5^to^ die ffeb: 1634
Richard Johnson; Jur: 21° die Januarij: Anno: 1640
Robtus ffisher yeoman Jur. 27° 7^br^ 1647.
Willus Holme Coop' Jur. 5°. 8^br^. 1648.
Jacobus ffearon woollman Jur. 5. 8^br^. 1648.
Anthus Craisler }
Joh'es Cocke } Jur. 3: May 1649
Joh'es Pearson }
Geo: Boulton }
Jacobus Muckelt Jur. 4: Apr: 1649.
Bartholomeus Gaunt Jur. 12: July 1649 [6]
Christofer Parker Jur. 1655.
James Rigge Jur. 1655
John Asburne Jur. 1655
Christofer Robinson Jur. 1657
John ffox Jur. 1658.

*Note.*—We can add to the above list the names of:—

Rawffe Turner, joyner, who held minor Municipal offices from 1591 to 1609.

Richard Nuby, waller, who took apprentice in 1642.

Edward Preston, waller, who took apprentice in 1642.

None of these are entered in the list of Freemen.

1 The second 'street list,' which is a record of contributions towards the 'Schole off Kendall' in 1588, shows:

"Thomas Nycolson (or works) 4d"

2 These are fairly common names, and in each case there are others on other lists who *may* perhaps be identical, but this would be impossible to prove.
3 Carpenter—took apprentice in 1590.
4 Second street list has:

"Robert Jackson (in stones leading) 2/4"

5 Second street list shows 'John Wilkinson, wright' living in Stramongate.
6 Already dealt with, above.
7 Carpenter—apprenticed to Geo. Mattson in 1590.
8 Name probably repeated in error—not a common name.
9 Joiner—took apprentice in 1615.
10 Joiner—took apprentice in 1607.
11 Joiner—took apprentice in 1618.
12 Joiner—apprenticed to Thomas Airey in 1607.
13 I can find no indication as to the trades of these persons.
14 An uncommon name: possibly identical with William Nealson, pewterer, made free in 1626.
15 A Vicar of Kendal, of that name, died in 1591; but another person of the same name was living at Hutton.
16 Took an active part in Municipal affairs, and was nominated one of the Aldermen under the 1637 Charter.
17 Entered also, under the same date, in the list of Petty Chapmen.
18 Took apprentice as a cordyner in 1623; but is not on the list of cordyners.

## APPENDIX B.

Copy of Indenture of Apprenticeship of James Airey to Richard Walker, Kendal, in 1594.

Bowyer & ffletcher

Jur. x. die Oct./94/

M[d]: q[d] Jacobus Ayreye p' quodd'm Scriptu' suu' Indentatu' Cur' q' huic p'lat cuius dat' est x° die Septembr' A° dn' 1594 posuit seip'm Apprent et Servien' cu' Richardo Walker ad artem quem ip's nnc utitur voc Bowyer & Fletcher crafte erudiend' et Informand' et secum more Appr. et s'vien s (comoritur' et des'vitur' A primo die Julij. ult' preter' usq' ffinem et termin' Octo Annor' ex hunc plen're finit et complend' rer'

## APPENDIX C.

| | No. of Freemen. | No. of their apprenticeships recorded. | % | No. of Masters. | No. identified as Freemen. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chapmen | 16 | 0 | 0.0 | 5 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Mercers | 111 | 27 | 24.3 | 48 | 34 | 70.8 |
| Shearmen | 176 | 47 | 26.7 | 98 | 66 | 67.3 |
| Tailors | 37 | 9 | 24.3 | 25 | 17 | 68.0 |
| Cordyners | 69 | 26 | 33.3 | 41 | 30 | 73.2 |
| Tanners | 51 | 6 | 11.8 | 14 | 11 | 78.6 |
| Inholders | 16 | 0 | 0.0 | — | — | — |
| Butchers | 12 | 1 | 8.3 | 2 | 1 | 50.0 |
| Cardmakers | 10 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 1 | 100.0 |
| Scryvners | 58 | 6 | 10.3 | 16 | 10 | 62.5 |
| Smiths | 50 | 4 | 8.0 | 12 | 8 | 66.7 |
| Wrights | 78 | 2 | 2.7 | 6 | 4 | 66.7 |
| Labourers | 26 | 0 | 0.0 | — | — | — |
| Vintners | | | | 2 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Grocers | | | | 1 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 710 | 128 | 18.0 | 271 | 182 | 67.2 |

## APPENDIX D.

Table showing No. of Apprenticeship of various lengths in the several Companies.
Length of Apprenticeship:—

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | Av. | No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mercers | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 2 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 7.9 | 27 |
| Shearman | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 14 | 12 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | | 1 | | | | 8.2 | 47 |
| Tailors | | | | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 6.8 | 9 |
| Cordyners | | | | 1 | | | 2 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | | | | 9.6 | 26 |
| Tanners | | | | | | | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 9.0 | 6 |
| Butchers | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 9.0 | 1 |
| Scryveners | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | 11.7 | 6 |
| Smiths | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 12.3 | 4 |
| Wrights | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 13.0 | 2 |
| Total | 2 | | 2 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 26 | 34 | 16 | 12 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 8.7 | 128 |

## APPENDIX E.

Table showing number of Apprenticeships and freedoms each year from 1590 to 1645.

| Year. | Apprenticeships | Freedoms. | Year. | Apprenticeships | Freedoms. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1580 | 7 | | 1618 | 4 | 10 |
| 1 | 4 | | 9 | 2 | 18 |
| 2 | 3 | | 1620 | 1 | 12 |
| 3 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| 4 | 5 | | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| 5 | 6 | | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| 6 | 4 | | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 7 | 2 | | 5 | 1 | 12 |
| 8 | 6 | | 6 | 3 | 24 |
| 9 | 15 | | 7 | 0 | 4 |
| 1590 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 7 |
| 1 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 8 |
| 2 | 9 | 17 | 1630 | 6 | 5 |
| 3 | 25 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| 4 | 12 | 62 | 2 | 8 | 3 |
| 5 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 11 | 4 |
| 6 | 4 | 13 | 4 | 9 | 14 |
| 7 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| 8 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 13 |
| 9 | 17 | 35 | 7 | 6 | 4 |
| 1600 | 4 | 22 | 8 | 3 | 7 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | 7 | 5 | 1640 | 12 | 17 |
| 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 8 |
| 4 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| 5 | 6 | 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 |
| 6 | 8 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 7 | 9 | 59 | 5 | 9 | 1 |
| 8 | 11 | 11 | 6 | | 13 |
| 9 | 5 | 5 | 7 | | 2 |
| 1610 | 5 | 17 | 8 | | 23 |
| 1 | 3 | 5 | 9 | | 16 |
| 2 | 2 | 6 | 1650 | | 2 |
| 3 | 1 | 7 | 1 | | 3 |
| 4 | 7 | 1 | 2 | | 0 |
| 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | | 9 |
| 6 | 2 | 12 | 4 | | 5 |
| 7 | 6 | 11 | 5 | | 22 |

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A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Poole for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. R. H. Baxter, seconded by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins. Comments were also offered by Bros. L. Vibert, Geo. Elkington and J. Heron Lepper.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER said:—

Bro. Poole has placed us under a debt of obligation for his careful and painstaking labours in endeavouring to show the similarity between the practices of these old trade companies and our own fraternity. Nothing but good can result from work of this kind.

I have long felt that closer investigation was necessary as to the usages of these old guilds, particularly in connection with peculiarities of certain kinds of stonework. It is not uncommon, from time to time, to be told that features of working or moulding are indications of the craftsmanship of one guild or another. As an example I would quote the pyramidal stops on the springing stones of the arches in the nave arcade of the old Parish Church of St. Chad at Rochdale. These are stated to prove that the work was executed by the Canterbury Guild of Masons. Personally, I should be indebted to any one who could give authority for such assertions.

Although much has already been done in the way of analysing the methods of chiselling and marking stones, a wide field still remains for research. Perhaps, some day, we may be favoured with further information on the subject.

I have great pleasure in proposing that the heartiest thanks of the Lodge be accorded to Bro. Poole for his paper and for the trouble and personal inconvenience he has been put to in coming so far to read it to us.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In the remarks I have to make on Bro. Poole's paper I wish to offer a few parallels, from documents and books, that have been suggested by reading it. It is possible some may appear rather wide of the mark, but all have a Masonic interest, and the fact that they have been recalled to my mind by Brother Poole's labours will be an added justification for a paper which I have enjoyed very much.

In the first place I would draw attention to the "Book of Ordinances" belonging to the Gild of Bricklayers, etc., of Kingston-upon-Hull, owned by the Hull Subscription Library (quoted in Lambert's *Two thousand years of Gild Life*: Hull 1891, p. 275 *et sqq.*):—

> The Book of Orders made for the utilitie and good government of the occupation of breeklaiers, tilers, wallers, plaisterers, and pavers, within the towne of Kingston upon Hull. Being incorporated into brotherhoode by composition in writing from the right worshipfull the maior etc etc the twentie daye of June in the yeare of our Lorde God, one thousand, five hundred neinetie and neine etc.

This "Book of Ordinances" starts off with the following three colophons:—

> *St. John*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, In the beginning was the worde, and the worde was with God, and God was that worde. The same was in the beginnyng with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life was the lighte of menne. And the lighte shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.
>
> *Plato.* All men are by nature equall, made all by one worckman of lyke myre; and howsoever we deceave ourselves, as dere unto God is the poorest begger as the most pompous prince living in the worlde.
>
> *Plato.* Of all the giftes of God wisdom is the most excellent. She geveth goodnes to the good, and forgiveth the wicked their wickedness. She ordreth the mind, shee directeth the life, and ruleth the worckes thereof, teaching what oughte to be done and what to be lefte undone.
>
> Concordia magna res crescunt, discordia maxima dilabuntur.

Whether or not any of these passages contains an esoteric meaning, it will hardly be suggested that the ordinary sixteenth-century operative gildsman would be sufficiently well read to have commended them to his fellows as mottoes; and we are forced to assume that associated with the gild in some capacity was a person of better education than the rest.

The only other portions of these ordinances to which attention need be drawn are the 2nd, which states:—

> Item that yf any of this brotherhood shall disclose the secrets of this towne (being proved) he shall forfate everie tyme xii d.:

and the 14th, which runs:—

> Item yf anie of this brotherhoode shall disclose or make knowen anie of the secretts of this societie, he shall forfaite and paie for every such offence iii s. iv. d.

From which it is apparent that the secrets of the town were something apart from and less important (as measured by the pecuniary standard) than the secrets of the brotherhood.

The freedom of a city was, of course, a great privilege in mediæval times, and we have outside evidence that at least as early as the reign of Edward III. it could be purchased for money as well as obtained by apprenticeship or birth. Langland refers to the practice as a growing abuse in his day:—

> It is not seemly, forsooth, in city or borough That usurers or regrators (profiteers) for any kind gifts Be franchised for a freeman and have a false name.

The use of the word Warden as the chief officer of a company may be illustrated by the following passage from the Chester play of the "Harrowing of Hell," where Satan exclaims:

> Out, alas! what is this?
> Seinge I never so moche blesse
> Towardes hell come, i-wisse,
> Seithen I was warden here.
> My maisterdome fares amisse,
> for yender a stobarne fellowe ys,
> Righte as hollye hell were his,
> To reve me of my power.
>
> (Edit. 1847, Vol. II., p. 77.)

It would be easy to produce a flood of quotations from other mediæval authors referring to "wise masons," "gate-ward," "tokens," "the seven arts," and the symbolism of the pentangle and square, but as these would have no direct bearing on the subject in hand, this passing reference will be enough to recall the fact that a symbolic meaning attached, and such matters were certainly not an invention of the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that the office of Warden had to be taken by the Gild member elected thereto on pain of a heavy fine; this rule can be paralleled by a similar custom existing in certain Lodges in the eighteenth century, and is another thread connecting our fraternity with the old operative gilds.

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Bro. George Elkington said:—

The paper is most interesting in that it shows that at the period to which it refers, and obviously for a long time previously, in a provincial town somewhat remote and containing probably not more than 10,000 inhabitants, there existed so complete an organization of its trades and industries.

It is estimated that just prior to the Reformation there were about 40,000 Gilds or Associations spread over the country and varying in their constitution from those purely religious to those entirely secular and, in fact, trades unions of the period.

A large number disappeared at the Reformation and many more (such as at Kendal) ceased subsequently owing to altered economic and trade conditions. Some, however, survive—such as the numerous Livery Companies of the City of London, and well-known examples at Bristol, Sheffield, and elsewhere.

It seems probable that there was a good deal of resemblance between Companies of similar trades in different towns, and I think there is evidence of inter-communication, especially between the great Guilds of the City and some corresponding Provincial Companies.

The grouping of the Kendal Companies appears to have been on common-sense and practical lines, and a few points in detail, following Bro. Poole's list, may be worth mention:—

*No. 2. Mercers and Drapers.*—The Kendal Mercers at one time issued tokens bearing their arms, which were apparently identical with the old arms of the City Mercers as described by Stow in 1633—that is, a bust portrait crowned and stated to represent Richard II., but later changed to the Virgin Mary.

*No. 3. The Shearmen, Fullers, Dyers and Websters.*—The Websters are Weavers. In London City the defunct Guild of Shearmen were associated also with the Fullers, Dyers and Weavers. As showing the importance of this Company it has been recorded that woollens were first made in Kendal in 1390.

*No. 4. Taylers, Imbrodyrers and Whiltirs.*—The Whiltirs probably quilted and sewed in checker pattern the linen armour of the period. The City Merchant Taylors in 1299 were licensed as Taylors and Linen Armourers.

*No. 6. Tanners, Sadlers and Girdlers.*—In the annals of the City Saddlers Company is a peculiar Charter of 1272—of general scope, applying not only to the City of London but the country at large—and frequently renewed. This prescribed "that in every City, Borough or Town, where Saddlery was practised, two honest and discreet men should be chosen to survey the craft." This substituted an Executive of two elected Wardens for the Feudal Alderman whose term was for life. It is probably the first instance of that which later became the usual custom and was the form of management at Kendal.

*No. 9. The Cardmakers and Wyredrawers.*—The Cardmakers made implements used in the manufacture of Woollens.

*No. 12. The Building Trades.*—The "Dawbers" were, I think, workers in "Wattle and Daub," sometimes called "Stud and Mud." In the accounts of the City Masons' Company from 1376 to 1655 the members were called Free Masons. This, however, does not refer to Freemasonry as we know it, but more probably to this Guild going in bodies to where there was some important work in hand (*e.g.*, a Cathedral), when, if they were free of their Company in their own town, they were apparently allowed freely to work in their craft at the town visited.

I think I can throw a little light on the question of the Freedom of the Company and of the Borough or City—at least, as far as the custom in London is concerned.

Each Company is entitled to confer its freedom by Patrimony, Servitude, Redemption, or Honorary Grant. In old times the greater part at any rate of the Freemen were connected with the Trade of the Guild and usually came in by Patrimony or Servitude. At the present time any one (acceptable to the governing body) can join by redemption, *i.e.*, by paying what is usually a rather heavy fine for his assumed neglect in not serving. Honorary Freedom is conferred (*a*) on distinguished citizens and (*b*) on benefactors to the Company.

Now by whichever of these four ways a man becomes a freeman of the Company, on presenting his Certificate of Freedom at the Guildhall, the City Chamberlain inserts his name on the roll of Freemen of the City. No distinction is made. If a man is an Honorary Freeman of a Company he is registered as an ordinary Freeman of the City.

The Court of Aldermen (who in the City are the authority concerned) have always possessed and still exercise, the right to confer the (honorary) Freedom of the City upon worthy recipients independently of, and without their possessing the Freedom of a Company. It would seem that the custom in Kendal was very similar.

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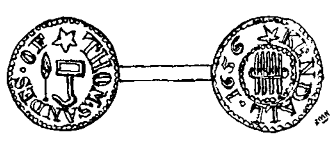
Bro. Poole *writes* as follows, in reply:—

The comments which have been made on my paper leave me little to do except to acknowledge the value of the fresh material put forward illustrating usages elsewhere. A complete and clear idea of the status and functions of City Gilds can only be obtained by a careful comparison of parallel practices in different quarters; and I would like to hope that my paper may be the means of stimulating the analysis of yet other codes and records, which must exist, but which have not yet been subjected to research from the Masonic point of view.

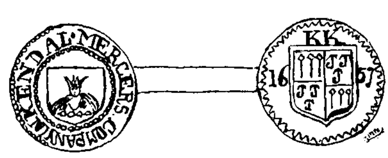
On one point which has been raised I may, perhaps, be allowed a word—the obtaining of the freedom by patrimony. Nothing short of a careful scrutiny of the Parish Registers, in connection with the list of Freemen whose appenticeships (if any) are not recorded, would settle the question if, or to what extent, such freedoms were conferred at Kendal. This would be a desperate task, and one at which a bolder man than I might well tremble. I can only state that I attempted it on a small scale and over a short period; and that I found no evidence whatever that such a system was practised.

I cannot refrain from expressing my disappointment at having failed to provoke some discussion of what was certainly the most controversial, and, I think, the most interesting, portion of my paper—my five conclusions arising from the examination of the Wrights' list. Caution restrained me from using such terms as 'esoteric,' 'inner circle,' and the like; and I fear that some may have missed the significance which I attach to these conclusions. But I fully believe that the situation was somewhat as in London; and that within the Trade Company there *did* exist some sort of esoteric Freemasonry, whether or not it was an 'inner' circle. If this was the case, then I can probably claim, in Richard Walker, of 1594, the earliest such admission so far unearthed. I still hope to hear the views of expert Brethren on this subject.

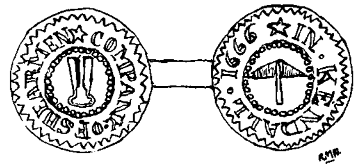
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*Obv.* A Teasel and a Wool-hook.
*Rev.* A Wool-comb.



*Obv.* Arms of the Mercers Company.
*Rev.* ,, ,, ,, Corporation of Kendal.



*Obv.* A pair of Croppers Shears.
*Rev.* The Shearman's Teasel-brush or frame.

Trade Tokens of Kendal.

## FRIDAY, 2nd MARCH, 1923.

THE Lodge met at Freemason's Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E. Lancs., W.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, I.P.M.; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, S.D.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., West Yorks., J.D.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, I.G.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Henry Hyde, B. H. B. Allen, F. M. Atkinson, B. H. Springett, E. A. Hudson, W. J. Williams, J. Walter Hobbs, Alfred Gates, W. E. Heaton, T. M. Woodhead, P.G.D., Sydney Meymott, Chas. Aburrow, P.G.D., A. J. Thomas, P.G.D., A. Presland, B. Telepneff, Walter Dewes, G. R. D. Rust, R. Skinner, E. B. Cozens-Brooke, F. C. Bickell, Chas. Curd, P.A.G.D.C., Ed. M. Phillips, A. Saywell, G. W. Richmond, A. Loftus Brown, G. H. Depledge, Rev. H. Poole, W. Young Hucks, J. F. Vesey FitzGerald, Fredk. Bare, G. W. Bullamore, Stanley Y. Holland, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., L. S. Green, A. Sutherland, H. R. Lamson, Arthur Heiron, G. E. W. Bridge, H. Franklin, Abdul Rahman, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, N. Dejean, Percy H. Horley, F. E. Gould, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., Henry G. Gold, Alfred A. Harris, G. Derrick, Wm. Candy, A. J. Collier, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., R. F. J. Colsell, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, P.G.Ch., H. Johnson, S. W. Culley, F. C. Elliston Erwood, John Lawrance, E. Pickstone, Alfred Hildesley, D. Forbes, H. A. Matheson, S. W. Rodgers, J. H. Marsh, and Jonathan Bridge.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. Mesrob, Highasdan Lodge No. 1185 (S.C.); A. E. Burland, Canute Lodge No. 3104; Percy McIntyre, Noel Lodge No. 2444; M. Pomeroy, Wey Side Lodge No. 1395; Fredk. B. Johnson, Grays' Valley Lodge No. 2147; and F. Miller, S.D., Knightsbridge Lodge No. 3978.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from Bros. W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; Wm. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

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One Grand Lodge, Two Lodges, One Lodge of Instruction, and Thirty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Wonnacott.

Collar Jewel of D.C. or Steward, belonging to the Universal Lodge originally No. 435 of 1768; Crossed Wands with ear of Corn.

Three Copies of 1723 Constitutions from the Library of Grand Lodge. (1.) A copy (uncut) in original boards, at one time the property of Peter Le Neve (1662-1729), Norroy King at Arms, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1717 President of the Society of Antiquaries. The book contains a number of marginal notes written by, or altered by, him, ridiculing Anderson's statements and claims. (2.) A copy in original morocco binding, with at end in MS. "The Fairy Song dropt at the Grand Master's door." An early version of the song, without any Masonic allusion, appears in a tract entitled "A description of the King and Queen of Fairies," etc., 1635. (3.) A copy in original leather binding with music in MS. of "The fellow crafts song: being the first verse with the chorus by L=M=y."

By Bro. F. J. W. Crowe.

Reprint (part in *facsimile*) of the 1723 Constitutions, published in 1900 by the Lodge Plato zur Beständigen Einigkeit in Wiesbaden. This is the first attempt to reproduce the original page for page.

By the Secretary, from the Lodge Library.

Constitutions of 1723, in original leather binding.
Spencer's Reprint of 1871.
Kenning's Reprint of 1878.
New York Reprint of 1855.
Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*, 1732 and 1736.

By Bro. F. Weston.

Duplicate Certificate of Third degree under the Order of Misraim, issued at Paris 25 July 1874 to replace the original which had become "détérioré." It had been granted by the "Loge des Pyramides," Paris, on 29 January 1847, to Gaspard Bourgein, of Aix la Chapelle, then 37 years of age.

By Bro. L. Vibert.

Small silver Collar Jewel; Mercury holding wand.

By Bro. J. I. Moar.

Jug with designs referring to the Orange Society.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

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Bro. Lionel Vibert read the following paper:—

# ANDERSON'S CONSTITUTIONS OF 1723.

*BY BRO. LIONEL VIBERT, I.P.M.*

The publication of the *Constitutions* of 1723——the Author——his other writings——his degree of D.D. The work itself——the reprints——Anderson's story as to Wharton and the Grand Wardens——the facts——the proofs of them in the work itself——two accounts of the genesis of the work——the dates of the various sections. The probable facts as to the production——a private venture ——as was also the 1738 edition——the Frontispiece. The Dedication——the term 'Constitution'——the History. Anderson's authorities——the Cooke Text and other versions he used——the Roberts Text——the text of the Spencer Family not before him——Stow——Anderson's want of acquaintance with polite literature. The story as to the destroyed MSS.——hints of mystery——the Statute of 1425.

Allusions to Scots Masonic history——Scottish terminology——Fellow Craft and Enter'd Apprentice——Scots Craft law. The Charges——the extent to which they are based on the older texts——the text of 1723 reverted to by Entick. The Regulations——discrepancies between them and the procedure actually observed——their reception in G.L.——the effect of the resolution of G.L.—— subsequent history. Manner of constituting a New Lodge——indications as to ritual in the work generally. The Approbation——the meeting at which it was drawn up——the number of Lodges concerned.

The Songs——Conclusion.

## ANDERSON'S CONSTITUTIONS OF 1723.

THE Grand Lodge of 1717, which was not a body for which the Old Charges had made any provision, did not for some years feel the necessity of possessing any Regulations of its own. We may indeed doubt whether at first it did anything more than meet annually for a feast and elect a Grand Master and Wardens. It is fairly obvious that it did not include all the Freemasons in London and Westminster, and among those who had no dealings with it there were in all probability more groups than one meeting regularly at an Inn and speaking of their meetings as Lodges.

But after the advent of Mr. George Payne things took another turn. Entick in 1756 tells us that it was due to his fervency and zeal that those Noblemen and Princes were admitted to the Craft who brought such honour upon it. These admissions will hardly have begun before his second period as Grand Master. The very fact that he was re-appointed after Desaguliers' year of office is a clear indication that there was as yet no more distinguished personage available. But it was precisely at the close of his second year of office that he 'read over a new set of articles to be observed.' During that year Stukeley had joined the Craft, as also the Duke of Montagu and Lords Stanhope and Herbert and other persons of social standing. As Stukeley tells us, after his acceptance it took a run, and it was on the occasion of the installation of Montagu as G.M. that Payne's Articles were propounded. The conditions obviously called for special legislation, not merely in respect of the new central authority, but also with regard to the rapidly increasing membership of the Order.

It is clear that this meeting, held the 24th June, was attended by a large number of Brethren, whether they were as yet recognised as belonging to more than the original Four Lodges or not, and from this time there is no doubt there was an increase in individual membership, and also from now, if not before, new

Lodges were constantly being sanctioned and registered by G.L. Accordingly, if, as we must I think assume was the case, Payne's Regulations dealt with Private Lodges, it became increasingly necessary that they should be published. Again many Masons were cognisant of the text of the Old Charges, and it may well have been the case that they not only recognised that the actual Charges General and Special were no longer suited to contemporary conditions, but also felt that the History was in need of being brought up to date. At all events, during Montagu's term of office, Mr. James Anderson put forward an entirely new account of the subject, and the proposal to publish a book that should not merely contain the New Regulations but should replace the Old Versions in all respects was definitely approved. The work was not ready for some considerable time, and it was not till 17th January, 1722-3, that it was finally licensed for publication by the then G.M., being issued on 28th February. This work is the famous *Constitutions* of 1723. Several passages from it have been the subject of repeated discussion and even controversy; but I do not know that the work as a whole was ever analysed in detail until Begemann undertook the task in the second volume of his History. pp. 154-248.

Of the author, James Anderson, M.A., or Dr. James Anderson as he came to be known later on, it is not necessary here to speak at length as every ascertained detail of his life and writings has already been discussed in *A.Q.C.* in papers by Bros. Thorp, Chetwode Crawley and Robbins, in vols. xviii. and xxiii. The date of his birth is uncertain, but he is stated to have been born at Aberdeen, where he was educated and became a M.A. of the Marischal College. He was in London in 1710 when he became the minister of a Presbyterian Chapel in Swallow St., Piccadilly, a congregation he did not sever his connection with till 1734. He printed a few sermons from one of which we learn that in 1723 he was Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan, but that that was anything more than a courtesy appointment does not appear. The Earl was a representative peer for Scotland from 1714 to 1734, and as such would be constantly in residence in London; but he does not seem to have been a Mason, though his sons were. In another of the sermons there are passages which suggest that Anderson had actually been imprisoned for debt, and one writer, at least, states that he lost money in the South Sea Bubble in 1720 (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., 7). The sermons indicate his political attitude as being one of whole-hearted devotion to the King in possession, combined with a desire to demonstrate that the true Presbyterian was also a true Hanoverian.

When he was initiated and where is also as yet unknown, but he would appear to have been familiar with the Scots Masonic terminology, usages and historical claims, and it is most probable that he joined the Craft in Aberdeen, although the Lodge there has no record of it. In London there is no evidence that he took any part in the movement or that he was even present at G.L. until September, 1721, the next meeting after Montagu's installation. After the *Constitutions* was published he absented himself from the meetings for over seven years, but he was during this time engaged in his great work *Royal Genealogies*, which is in part admittedly a translation of the standard work of Hübner, and also, but not so avowedly, a paraphrase of Prideaux *The Old and New Testament connected.* This work he published in 1732. In 1735 he proposed to revise the *Constitutions*, and the second edition, with the History entirely re-written and much expanded, appeared in 1738. He died in 1739. He also wrote a theological pamphlet, *Unity in Trinity*, published in 1733; while a work entitled *News from Elysium* and a *Genealogical History of the House of Yvery*, usually described as worthless, were published posthumously

The copy of the *Royal Genealogies* in the Marischal College is inscribed as presented by "Jacobus Anderson, D.D.," in Anderson's own hand. The College contains no record of the conferring of this degree, and in the prospectus of the work, the date of which is uncertain, he is described as A.M. However, in the Minutes of the meeting of G.L. of 24th June, 1731, at which he was present, he is mentioned as Dr. Anderson, and this was his style thenceforward. But it still remains somewhat of a mystery how this distinction was acquired; although the fact that he uses it in the title page of the *Royal Genealogies* as well

as in his inscription in the presentation copy to his *Alma Mater* mentioned above makes it evident that he did obtain it from somewhere in 1731 or just previously.

## THE WORK ITSELF; ANDERSON'S ACCOUNT.

Before I proceed to describe the *Constitutions* in detail it is necessary to say something with regard to existing reprints of it. That of Spencer, of 1871, is not claimed in the preface to be a facsimile, but it is stated that "the self-same form of type, etc., originally used, has been, as far as practicable, adopted, and in each case every portion of their detail is reproduced," except for the songs which are omitted. Nevertheless, the striking variations in type of the original are by no means followed, and the pagination is quite different, so much so that the Approbation does not even begin a new page. The work has its own catch-words also. The license to publish of the original is, however, re-produced. The reprint in vol. i. of Kenning's *Archæological Library* is spoken of in Woodford's Preface as a correct copy, and this it no doubt is in essentials, but it also is not a facsimile, the pagination being different and having its own catch-words, while the last leaf, pp. 91 and 92, which contains the license to publish and the book-seller's advertisements, as also the first leaf with the half-title "Constitutions," are not reproduced at all. Such details of the work as I shall give, therefore, will not necessarily correspond with either reprint, as they relate to the original itself of which as yet no facsimile has been made.

The work consists of one leaf with the half-title "Constitutions" between ornamental borders, one with the frontispiece, one with the title-page, two not numbered with the Dedication in large type, and 92 pages. Pp. 1-48 are the History, pp. 49-56 the Charges, p. 57 is a Postscript, an opinion communicated to the Author while this sheet was printing, pp. 58-70 are the Regulations, and pp. 71, 72, also described as a Postscript, are Wharton's Manner of Constituting a New Lodge. Then comes the Approbation, which occupies two pages, and this is followed by songs with music which take us up to p. 90. P. 91 has a notice about the music to the F.C.'s Song, and the license to publish, and the word FINIS. The last page, not numbered, is filled with publisher's announcements.

Although the general arrangement of pp. 1-72, the way in which the printer's catch-words occur and so on, indicate that this portion of the work was all set up in type at one time, yet it is obvious that the different sections were written at different times, and unfortunately the internal evidence on this point does not correspond with what Anderson tells us of them.

When Anderson came to relate the events of 1722 and 1723 in his second edition he put forward an account which is very far from corresponding to the ascertained facts. He had two objects in view; in the first place he wished to minimise the connection of Wharton with the Craft, and to put it in a light unfavourable to that nobleman, who had died in 1732 in exile, a discredited Jacobite, and in the second he hoped to magnify the part taken in the events of the time by the Rev. James Anderson. It was necessary to his narrative and to his aims in writing it that the actual course of events with regard to the production of the *Constitutions* should also be distorted, but the book itself remains to offer the most unequivocal contradictions to his assertions, even if they were not already disproved by the evidence of contemporary diarists and the press, and the Minute Book of Grand Lodge.

Anderson's story with regard to Wharton is as follows:—

> Grand Master Montagu's good Government inclin'd the better sort to continue him in the Chair another year; and therefore they delay'd to prepare the Feast.
>
> But Philip Duke of Wharton lately made a Brother, tho' not the Master of a Lodge, being ambitious of the Chair, got a number of others to meet him at Stationers-Hall 24 June 1722, and having no Grand Officers, they put in the

> Chair the oldest Master Mason (who was not the present Master of a Lodge, also irregular) and without the usual decent Ceremonials, the said old Mason proclaim'd aloud
>
> Philip Duke of Wharton Grand Master of Masons, and
> Mr. Joshua Timson, Blacksmith, } Grand } but his Grace appoin-
> Mr. William Hawkins, Mason, } Wardens. } ted no Deputy, nor
> was the Lodge opened and closed in due Form.
>
> Therefore the noble Brothers and all those that would not countenance irregularities, disown'd Wharton's Authority, till worthy Brother Montagu heal'd the Breach of Harmony, by summoning——The Grand Lodge to meet 17 January 1722/3 at the King's-Arms foresaid, where the Duke of Wharton promising to be True and Faithful, Deputy Grand Master Beal proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother
>
> II. Philip Wharton Duke of Wharton Grand Master of Masons, who appointed Dr. Desaguliers the Deputy Grand Master, Joshua Timson, foresaid, } Grand } for Hawkins demit-
> James Anderson, A.M. } Wardens. } ted as always out
> of Town.
>
> When former Grand Officers, with those of 25 Lodges, paid their Homage.
>
> (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 114).

and again:—

> Grand Lodge in ample Form, 25 April 1723, at the White-Lion, Cornhill, with former Grand Officers and those of 30 Lodges call'd over by G.Warden Anderson, for no Secretary was yet appointed. When
>
> Wharton Grand Master proposed for his Successor the Earl of Dalkeith (now Duke of Buckleugh) Master of a Lodge, who was unanimously approved and duly saluted as Grand Master Elect.
>
> (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 115).

Now from Stukeley's Diary and the notices in the contemporary press we know that there was no question of delaying the Feast, and that at the meeting of 25th June, 1722, *not* 24th, which was a Sunday, Wharton was duly installed after an election which one account says was unanimous. The authorities are collected at p. 117, *A.Q.C.* viii. On his installation he appointed Desaguliers as his Deputy. The Duke was visiting Lodges during the year, but we do not know the date of any other meetings of Grand Lodge held in 1722. Anderson records none. There was a Quarterly Communication on 17th January, 1722/3, at which the publication of the *Constitutions* was sanctioned, and the wording of that sanction is:—

> London, this 17th Day of January, 1722/3.
>
> At the Quarterly Communication, This Book, which was undertaken at the Command of His Grace the Duke of Montagu, our late Grand Master, having been regularly approved in Manuscript by the Grand Lodge, was this Day produced here in Print, and approved by the Society. Wherefore we do hereby Order the same to be published, and recommend it for the Use of the Lodges.
>
> Philip Duke of Wharton, Grand Master.
> I. T. Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Master.

There is no other evidence than Anderson's statement for a meeting in April, but for the meeting of June 24th, 1723, we have for the first time the official Minutes, and from these we learn that Wharton declined to recommend any successor, and the G.L. nominated the Earl of Dalkeith. It is also clear that they had already been in correspondence with him, presumably without Wharton's goodwill and possibly without his knowledge, and that he had agreed to accept

office and had nominated his Deputy and Wardens. This circumstance makes the very occurrence of Anderson's meeting of April, at which he was Grand Warden, doubtful in the extreme.

Now as to the Grand Wardens for Wharton's year of office. We see that Anderson's account is that Wharton at his irregular election appointed Timson and Hawkins; that at the proceedings of January when Wharton was recognised by Montagu he appointed Anderson as Warden "for Hawkins demitted as always out of Town"; and Anderson implies that at the meetings of April and June he was Grand Warden in his own right. But the records of Grand Lodge shed a very different light on this story. There we find that Hawkins is duly recorded as one of Wharton's Wardens in June, 1722, in the official list of Grand Officers; but that an entry has been made against his name: 'who demitted and then James Anderson A.M. was chosen in his place,' and the whole of this entry is unquestionably in Anderson's own hand. Finally the entry for the meeting of June, 1723, originally read: 'Grand Wardens. Joshua Timson, the Revd. Mr. James Anderson, who officiated for Mr. William Hawkins.' But these last six words have been most carefully erased and were not brought to light again till the entry was photographed; *vide Q.C.A.* x., plates at pp. 196 and 48. Mr. William Hawkins then *was still a Grand Warden in June, 1723.* Anderson merely officiated for him on that occasion, but someone has been at the pains to do his best to destroy the official record of that fact. And while Anderson may have previously officiated for him in the same way the assertion that he was formally appointed Grand Warden in January is demonstrated to be untrue, as untrue, in fact, as the rest of his account of that meeting.

The *Constitutions* itself furnishes in the Frontispiece and the Approbation further proof if any were needed of where the truth lies. It happens that we can date the Approbation within narrow limits. It was signed by the officers of a Lodge, No. XIX. in Anderson's list, as to which we know that it was constituted on 25th November, 1722. It was also signed by Mr. Matthew Birkhead as Master of No. V., and he died on 28th December, 1722. The document, therefore, was drawn up between these dates. It is signed by Wharton as G.M., Desaguliers as Dy., and Hawkins and Timson as Wardens. Now according to the official record, this is perfectly correct. These were the G.L. Officers at this time. But according to Anderson, Wharton was not the recognised G.M. till January, Desaguliers was not his Deputy till January, and at that very meeting he himself superseded Hawkins as Warden, and his account implies that Hawkins was not present. The Approbation as Anderson has printed it is thus a flat confutation of his narrative, and the same is to be said of the Frontispiece. This, which was used over again without any alteration in 1738, save that the imprint *Engraved by John Pine in Aldersgate Street, London*, was expunged, represents a classical arcade, in the foreground of which stand two noble personages, each attended by three others, of whom one of those on the spectator's left carries aprons and pairs of gloves. The principal personages can hardly be intended for any others than Montagu and Wharton; and Montagu is wearing the robes of the Garter and is handing his successor a roll of Constitutions. This may be intended for Anderson's as yet unprinted manuscript, but it is more likely that it indicates that a version of the Old Constitutions was regarded at the time as part of the G.M.'s equipment. Behind each Grand Master stand their Officers, Beal, Villaneau and Morris on one side, and on the other Desaguliers, Timson and Hawkins, Desaguliers as a clergyman and the other two in ordinary dress, and evidently an attempt has been made in each case to give actual portraits. It is obvious that this plate might have been designed, drawn and printed at any time after June 25th, 1722. But once more here is Hawkins,—or, at all events, someone in ordinary attire,—as Grand Warden, and not anyone in clerical garb whom we might identify as the Rev. James Anderson, as should be the case if, after Wharton was recognised as G.M., his second Warden was Anderson and not Hawkins.

Let us now consider Anderson's assertions in the 1738 *Constitutions* with regard to the genesis of the work. The first is that 'on 29th Sep. 1721, His

Grace's Worship and the Lodge finding fault with all the Copies of the old Gothic Constitutions, order'd Brother James Anderson, A.M., to digest the same in a new and better Method.' But this actually would appear to have been his first appearance in Grand Lodge. We have both Stukeley's and Anderson's accounts of the meeting of June when the Duke was installed. Stukeley makes no reference to Anderson as being present on the occasion, and assuredly, if he had been there, some reference to the fact would have found a place in the History in 1738. Accordingly it is *prima facie* improbable that the Grand Master would entrust so important a commission to a person who can as yet hardly have been more than an undistinguished stranger.

The next assertions are:—

(i.) Under date 27th December, 1721. Montagu Grand Master, at the desire of the Lodge appointed 14 learned Brothers to examine Brother Anderson's Manuscript and to make report.

(ii.) Under date 25th March, 1722. The said Committee of 14 reported that they had perused Brother Anderson's Manuscript, viz. the History, Charges, Regulations and Master's Song, and after some Amendments had approved of it; Upon which the Lodge desir'd the Grand Master to order it to be printed.

(iii.) Under date 17th January, 1722/3. G. Warden Anderson produced the new Book of Constitutions now in Print, which was again approved, with the Addition of the antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge.

In the first place it has to be observed that there can be no doubt at all that the 1723 *Constitutions* was a private venture and Anderson's own property. The account he gives in 1738, while making no express assertion, leaves it to be inferred that the work was an official publication with which the G.L. was closely associated throughout its preparation. But in 1735, as we learn from the official Minutes, Anderson appeared before G.L. to protest against the doings of one Smith who had pirated the *Constitutions* which was his sole property. His account of the incident in 1738 suppresses this interesting detail. The second edition of 1738 was also to all appearance the Doctor's private property and not that of Grand Lodge. The edition of 1746 is merely the remainder copies of the 1738 edition with a new title page which omits the words "New Book of Constitutions," and this implies that these remainders were treated as Anderson's own property to be sold after his death to a bookseller. Certainly if the edition of 1738 was the property of G.L. the remainders could never have got into private hands. (Chetwode Crawley, *cit.* W.J.S., *A.Q.C.* xxiii., 33).

In the second place the Approbation gives an entirely different account of the matter. The statement there made is that "he has drawn forth the above-written new Constitutions, with the Charges and General Regulations: and the Author having submitted the whole to the Perusal and corrections of the late and present Deputy Grand Masters and of other learned Brethren; and also of the Masters and Wardens of particular Lodges at their Quarterly Communication; He did regularly deliver them to the late Grand Master himself, the said Duke of Montagu for his Examination Correction and Approbation; and his Grace by the advice of several Brethren, order'd the same to be handsomely printed for the use of the Lodges, though they were not quite ready for the press during his Mastership." While the evidence furnished by the sections of the work itself is at variance with both stories, for we can date them, or at least arrange them in chronological order, with some accuracy.

The Plate is of a date subsequent to 25th June, 1722. The Dedication refers to Montagu as our late and Wharton as our present Grand Master; thus it was also written in Wharton's year of office and may have been put together at any time; but while it speaks of "these New Constitutions," it makes no specific reference to anything except the History. The History was written during Montagu's term of office, as it ends with a reference to that nobleman as our present worthy Grand Master. The Master's Song is also of the same period for the same reason. The Charges contain an express reference to the Regulations hereunto annexed, and the two appear, therefore, to be one compilation.

The Regulations conclude with a statement that they received the Approbation and Consent of the Brethren on St. John Baptist's Day 1721; but that can only refer to them as compiled by Payne, since Anderson's own heading to them states that they have been now digested into this new method. The internal evidence, as we shall see later on, points to their having been given their present form after Wharton's election and the Feast of 1722. Wharton's Manner of constituting a New Lodge would probably have been drawn up fairly soon after he came into office, and the Warden's Song is expressly stated to have been composed "since the most noble Prince Philip Duke of Wharton was chosen Grand Master," and is, therefore, of any date after June, 1722. The Entered Apprentice Song, however, is described as by our late Bro. Mr. Matthew Birkhead deceased, and this page was, therefore, not printed till January, 1723. Finally, the Approbation, which refers to the History, Charges and Regulations, but has no reference to Wharton's Manner and ignores the songs, was drawn up and signed some time between 25th November and the end of December, 1722, and the license to publish on the last page but one of the book is dated 17th January, 1723, and we know that it was issued at the meeting of that date.

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We can, I think, now offer a tentative reconstruction of the true genesis of the work. Anderson appears in G.L. in September, 1721, and asks permission to write and publish a History of the Order, to be dedicated to the G.M. If there is any ground for the suggestion that he was actually in prison for debt after the South Sea Bubble, whence he was released by the kind offices of friends (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., 19), the G.M. and G.L. might be the more ready to accede to such a request. Desaguliers perhaps associates himself with the proposal, and Anderson is given the necessary permission. He produces his MS. in March, the History and the Master's Song, and I suggest that it is on this occasion that G.L. directs that Payne's Regulations, for which there is an increasing demand from new Lodges, shall be included in the publication. It is therefore put back for Anderson to include them, and it is also decided,—or he volunteers,—to re-write the Charges of the Old Constitutions, in a form more suitable to present requirements. It is in consequence of these additions being ordered that the work is not completely ready during Montagu's year of office, and in this part of the work Anderson perhaps receives the assistance of Desaguliers and other "learned brethren." It is not till the end of November that it is complete, and it now consists of the History, Charges and Regulations, as also the two Songs, the Master's and Warden's, together with the Frontispiece and possibly the Dedication. The Approbation is then drawn up and signed, this being what is referred to in the words "having been regularly approved in manuscript by the Grand Lodge" of the license to publish, and the work goes to press. It is in print on 17th January, 1723. The wording of the license to publish implies that Wharton's Manner was already in print at that date, and this is also involved by the way it occurs in the actual text where it is connected by a printer's catchword with the preceding page, the last page of the Regulations. But as it is not referred to in the Approbation its inclusion may have been directed at the meeting when that was signed; in any case it cannot have been ordered to be included on January 17th itself, as Anderson alleges. It is sufficiently clear why Anderson finds it necessary to make this assertion; it is the only one he can make that will be consistent with his tale about Wharton's irregular election, and his being recognised only on January 17th. On that date the work consists of pp. 1-72, with the Approbation, and probably the Frontispiece and Dedication, and with two songs. As eventually published there were four songs, of which one must have been set up in type after December 28th, 1722, as we have already seen. On p. 91, which contains the license to publish, there occurs the announcement: "The musick of the Fellow-Craft's Song, containing several sheets, being too much to be here printed, the Lodge, to which the Authors of the Song and Musick belong, will afford it in

manuscript to any other Lodge when desired." Accordingly it is probable that all the music and the two last songs which are on one leaf were added in at the last moment.

The fact that the Dedication makes no reference to any other part of the work than the History is presumably to be explained by the circumstance that this was in fact the only part of the whole production, except two songs, which was admittedly Anderson's own work. The Regulations were originally Payne's; the 'Manner' was ostensibly Wharton's; and the Charges are described as being extracted from ancient Records, and Desaguliers either did not know, or did not wish to have it suggested, that this statement was only partially correct.

Before I discuss the text of the work one remark may be added to what has already been said about the Frontispiece. On the ground between the two Grand Masters is Euclid's 47th Proposition with the word ἑυρηκα. The Proposition is referred to in the History, in 1723, as the discovery of Pythagoras and the Foundation of all Masonry sacred, civil and military. But its discovery was not the occasion of the exclamation, which is always attributed to Archimedes on solving the problem of how to test the amount of alloy in a gold crown of Hiero of Syracuse. Anderson appears to have confounded the two incidents. As he was prefixing this same plate unaltered to the 1738 edition he found it necessary to maintain this error. He now writes: "Pythagoras . . . became not only the Head of a new Religion of Patch Work but likewise of an *Academy* or *Lodge* of good *Geometricians* to whom he communicated a Secret, viz. That amazing Proposition which is the Foundation of all Masonry, of whatever Materials or Dimensions, called by Masons his HEUREKA; because They think it was his own Invention." This is his way of endeavouring to justify his blunder of fifteen years previously.

## THE TEXT; THE HISTORICAL SECTION.

The Dedication need not detain us. It eulogises the accuracy and diligence of the learned Author. As already stated, it is printed in large type on two separate sheets which are not paged, and at the head of the first page is the coat of arms of the Duke of Montagu. The dedication is made to Montagu rather than to Wharton, no doubt to be in keeping with the History, and also because the work was originally undertaken under Montagu's patronage. But Desaguliers seems to have accepted a certain responsibility for the author and the work by thus coming forward to recommend it, and, in fact, later on it was asserted by its critics to be a joint production. Thus in the Observations which were published with the Briscoe Print the History is treated as the work of both, the critic attributing its errors impartially to the Author of the Constitutions and the learned Doctor of Laws, whom in one passage he names to avoid any chance of misunderstanding. So also Verus Commodus refers to "Two unhappy busy persons who were masons having obtruded their idle notions . . . of Adam, and Solomon, and Hiram etc."

The title Constitutions, which has ever since been that of the Regulations issued by Grand Lodge, is one we find in seventeenth and eighteenth century versions in the G.L., Sloane, and Roberts Families, usually in the plural (*e.g.*, Phillips 1 and 2, Harleian 2054, Rawlinson), but occasionally in the singular (Phillips 3, Harris 2). It is the title of the Regius: "Hic incipiunt constituciones artis Gemetrie secundum Euclydem," and later on in the poem the Points are introduced as "'Plures Constituciones,'' so that the word means ordinances or what the later Versions speak of as Charges. It is not found in the Cooke Text or in any of the Plot Family, nor does Plot himself use it; he speaks of the 'History and Rules.' But it was the word used by the London Company to describe their copies of the Old Charges, and will, therefore, have been familiar to the Craft in Anderson's day. Nevertheless, both Anderson and Desaguliers appear to have been in some uncertainty as to its precise meaning. Anderson uses it on the title-page as the description of the whole work, comprising History, Charges and Regulations. But the heading of the historical section is "The

Constitution [in the singular], History, Laws, Charges, Orders, Regulations and Usages, etc.'' The Charges have their own separate heading, and the General Regulations again have theirs. In the Dedication we have 'so as to render these NEW CONSTITUTIONS a just and exact Account of MASONRY from the beginning of the World,' which distinctly suggests that the term has reference to the history alone. So also Regulation VII. reads that the candidate 'shall submit to the Constitutions, the Charges, and Regulations,' and the Approbation speaks of the Constitutions twice as something other than the Charges and Regulations, thus appearing to make a similar distinction. On the other hand, in an alleged quotation from the Old Charges, Anderson speaks of the Masons from France who brought with them the Charges and Regulations of the Lodges preserved since Roman times and prevailed with Athelstan to improve the Constitution of the English Lodges according to the foreign model. This can only mean its legislation. But he goes on to say, still as an alleged quotation, that Edwin's assembly did frame the Constitution and Charges of an English Lodge and ordained that at the making of a brother the Constitution should be read and the Charges hereunto annexed, and here we must apparently understand the word to mean the History.

However this may be, as the work which in its various editions up to 1815 contained all three sections, has since then discarded the history entirely, the term Constitutions now means for us the Law regulating the Craft to-day and the Charges in our present version of them. The term referred originally rather to those Charges which, being given by the patrons of old, constituted for the Craft those evidences of antiquity on which its privileges were based. Other Gilds might have Charters or Letters Patent of a Richard, an Edward, or a Henry; the Freemasons still preserved the Charges, which proved that they were a corporate body in the days of Nimrod.

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The legendary history brought Masonry or Geometry from the children of Lamech to Solomon; then jumped to France and Charles Martel; and then by St. Alban, Athelstan and Edwin this worthy Craft was established in England. In the Spencer Family an attempt was made to fill in the obvious gaps in this narrative by introducing the second and third temples, and Auviragus king of Britain as a link with Rome, France and Charles Martel being dropped, while a series of monarchs was also introduced between St. Alban's paynim king and Athelstan. Anderson's design is different. He traces the art from Cain, who built a city and who was instructed in Geometry by Adam. But having thus established the existence of Masonry from the very beginning of the world, he develops it on different lines. He amplifies the original narrative by introducing Noah and his sons, and Grand Master Moses. He also describes the Temple at great length, and then proceeds to derive all civilized architecture from it. He traces the progress of the science through Greece and Sicily to its culmination in Rome in what he calls the glorious Augustan Style. In Britain after the Romans all knowledge of it is lost. Charles Martel helps England to recover the true art after the Saxon invasions, but under the earlier kings they know nothing but Gothic. Still, William I. and II., Edward III., Henry VI., and Elizabeth all advance the art to the best of their ability, but it is reserved for the House of Stuart to restore the true science, for Anderson's argument is that Renascence architecture, which he claims as having been introduced into England by James I., was a return to a model from which Gothic had been merely a barbarous lapse. The subsequent monarchs are all referred to (most of them as Masons), and their enthusiasm for the Royal Art enlarged upon, James II. being the only one as to whom there is any doubt; but there is not a word as to any Grand Masters, or Lodges, and the concluding paragraph is:—

> And now the Freeborn British Nations, disintangled from foreign and civil Wars, and enjoying the good fruits of Peace and Liberty, having of late much indulg'd their happy Genius for Masonry of every sort,

and reviv'd the drooping Lodges of London, this fair Metropolis flourisheth, as well as other parts, with several worthy particular Lodges that have a quarterly communication and an annual grand Assembly wherein the forms and Usages of the most ancient and worshipful Fraternity are wisely propagated and the Royal Art duly cultivated and the Cement of the Brotherhood preserv'd so that the whole Body resembles a well built Arch; several Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Rank with Clergymen and learned Scholars of most professions and Denominations, having frankly join'd and submitted to take the Charges and to wear the Badges of a Free and Accepted Mason under our present worthy Grand-Master, the most Noble Prince, John Duke of Montague.

In all this it will be observed there is not one definite statement of fact, or name or date, except in the last dozen words; and even there the Grand-Master's name is mis-spelt.

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Anderson says that his History is collected from the General Records of the Craft and their faithful traditions of many ages. There are actually identifiable references to two versions of the Old Charges in his text, these being the Cooke and a text closely similar to the William Watson, while he has also apparently had before him some text of the later form, Grand Lodge or Sloane. We know from Stukeley's Diary and papers that the Cooke Text had been produced in Grand Lodge by Payne on 24th June, 1721, and it was still among the archives in 1728, since in that year Gd. Secretary Reid was making copies of it (*vide* Hughan, *Old Charges*, 1895, p. 30). Anderson, therefore, had opportunities of access to it when writing his History in 1721-2. The text of the Plot Family was also fairly widely disseminated, and although Henery Heade and Edward Thompson are not as yet identified or localised we will be safe in assuming that there was in London a copy available from which Anderson could make extracts. In the middle of his History, after referring to Edward III., he introduces a series of passages which he puts in small type and inverted commas, as though they were textual quotations, and alleges are taken from a certain record written in the reign of Edward IV., and there is also in a footnote an extract 'from another manuscript more ancient.' All these passages are, in fact, a wording of his own, and are combined from the Cooke Text, a text of the Plot type, and apparently one of the later form, Grand Lodge or Sloane, as well, but throughout he has made without any scruple such modifications and additions as seemed good to him. The three passages which are most definitely indicative of the later form are (i.) a reference to Charles Martel in the History itself, (ii.) a statement in the quotation that Athelstan brought the land into Rest and Peace and built many great works, and (iii.) another also in the quotation, that the manuscripts brought to Edwin included some in Greek. The earliest texts all speak not of Charles Martel but of Carolus Secundus. The second passage is not in the Plot Family Versions that we have to-day, nor do these, any of them, refer to the languages of the manuscripts brought to Edwin. The passage comes for the first time in the later text, that of the G.L. or Sloane Families, where the mention of Greek is usual. Some texts also mention Hebrew, but Anderson certainly did not come across any of them, for if he had he would not have failed to quote so valuable an addition to his evidences. He would find both passages in the version of 1670 that is preserved at Aberdeen, but not Charles, who is there disguised as 'Martosse.'

He claimed to have corrected the chronological errors of the Old Versions, and this he has done in three instances:—

(i.) He has transferred Euclid to his correct position chronologically.

(ii.) He has suppressed St. Alban, whom he doubtless read the Old Versions as describing as subsequent in date to Charles Martel.

(iii.) He has suppressed Namus Grecus. In 1738 he utilises him, but, to get over the chronological difficulties of his career, he divides him in two. He tells us of Ninus who 'as the Old Constitutions affirm' brought Freemasonry from King Solomon's Temple to Gaul, on p. 16, and on p. 61 he mentions Bro. Mimus Grecus who educated Charles Martel.

But he followed his originals too closely when he made Charles Martel not merely one of regal line, but actually King of France; thus perpetuating the error the Old Versions made when they transferred to Charles Martel a statement made originally about an entirely different person.

In the historical portion there is nothing which suggests that Anderson had before him when writing it any text of the Roberts Family. Had he then had one to refer to he could hardly have failed to utilise the New Articles with their statement that they were approved at a General Assembly in 1663. In 1738 he transcribes them bodily, with such emendations as he thinks fit, and works this Assembly into his narrative. But there is one passage in the Fifth Charge which certainly appears to be derived from a Roberts text. The twenty-fourth article of the Roberts Version is: "Ye shall not make any Square Mould or Rule to mould stones withall; but such as are allowed by the Fraternity": and this has no counterpart in the text of any other Family. Anderson says: "ALL the tools used in working shall be approved by the Grand Lodge": which can hardly be anything but an adaptation of the Roberts injunction. There is another phrase which reminds us of this Family, but the circumstance is not one on which any conclusions can be based. The title of the Roberts Print is "The Old Constitutions belonging to the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons," and this phrase 'free and accepted' was here used for the first time. We find it once in the Regulations; No. XXVII. directs that none shall wait at the Feast but free and accepted masons, and it is also used in the Approbation and in the note after the Warden's Song. But as it occurs in the Enter'd 'Prentice Song, which had already appeared in print independently, and was presumably popular, Anderson was probably merely using a familiar phrase in each case. The Roberts Print was published in 1722, no doubt after Anderson had completed his historical section, and, as we have already seen, although he did not proceed to print it till towards the end of that year, he did not care to re-cast the last paragraph so as to include a reference to the new G.M., and would be even less likely to introduce modifications for any other purpose. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the unmistakeable traces of Roberts influence in the work as a whole should be so slight.

The question whether the text of the Spencer Family in its present form is earlier in date than Anderson's History is one which it is not easy to answer. The Spencer Text, as is well known, follows the Grand Lodge text almost exactly down to the sentence about curious craftsmen; the exceptions being that there is one passage about the seven sciences and the children of Lamech that is the Roberts Text, and that there are two interpolations, the first about Hermes and the second about the letters between Hiram and Solomon. Further, there is the important detail of the name Hiram Abiff. From this point the texts diverge. The Spencer omits Namus Grecus and Charles Martel, and gives us instead the second and third Temples, Claudius, Trajan, St. Alban (where the G.L. wording re-appears for a phrase or two), Ethelbert, Sibert and Sigebert, and Athelstan and his *brother* Edwin, and then the G.L. text is again resumed. For Edwin's assembly at York is assigned the definite date 932. I think it is clear that Anderson was unacquainted with this text in 1722. If he had met with it he would not have failed to utilise the date for Edwin, he would probably have noticed the correction of brother for son, and he would surely have adopted Trajan's Column, to which he makes no reference. The fact that both Anderson and the texts of the Spencer Family refer to Hiram Abiff is presumably due to the circumstance that in 1722, if not earlier, the name was of particular significance to the Craft. It appears, then, to be the case that Anderson owes nothing to the Spencer Family text, and, I believe we may say, conversely, that the texts owe nothing to Anderson either; the Inigo Jones Version has his

fashion of dates in the margin as well as the mention of Hiram Abiff, but neither of these points of agreement appears to me to *involve* that the Inigo Jones copied from the Constitutions of 1723.

Of authorities other than the Old Charges, the Bible and the ordinary sources, there is no special indication. There is a reference to Henry Yevele, Freemason to Edward III., which Anderson no doubt took from Stow, to whom he is also indebted for a note on the Mason's Company and its arms. As far as I know, no authority has as yet been suggested for the story he tells about Queen Elizabeth's commission, who, when they, with intent to break up the annual communication

> "brought a sufficient posse with them at York upon St. John's Day, were once admitted into the Lodge, they made no use of arms, and returned the Queen a most honourable account of the ancient Fraternity, whereby her political Fears and Doubts were dispell'd, and she let them alone, as a People much respected by the Noble and the Wise of all the polite Nations, but neglected the Art all her Reign."

In 1738 this story is somewhat varied and furnished with names and dates. There is, however, one indication that Anderson was not, in fact, what we should call a well-read man. His tracing of the art of Masonry to Càin shews a total want of any sense of humour, but then so do all his contributions to history. But it shews more; it shews his lack of acquaintance with polite literature. No well-read person of the period would be unacquainted with the writings of Abraham Cowley, the poet and essayist of the Restoration, and it is in that writer's Essay on Agriculture that the striking sentence occurs:—"The three first men in the world were a gardener, a ploughman and a grazier; and if any man object that the second of these was a murderer, I desire he would consider, that as soon as he was so he quitted our profession, and turned builder." It is difficult to imagine that Anderson would have claimed Cain as the first Mason if he had been familiar with this passage.

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There are a few minor points in connection with the history on which comment is necessary. We know that the Cooke Text was produced in G.L. by Payne only from Stukeley. Anderson makes no reference to this incident in 1738, although he uses the text itself freely in both editions. What he does tell us is under date 24th June, 1718:—

> Payne . . . Grand Master . . . desired any Brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old Writings and Records concerning Masons and Masonry in order to shew the Usages of antient Times: And this Year several old Copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated.

and under 1720:—

> This Year, at some private Lodges, several very valuable Manuscripts (for they had nothing yet in print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr. Nicholas Stone the Warden of Inigo Jones) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that those papers might not fall into strange hands.

The phrase 'Gothic Constitutions' is, of course, Anderson's own, and the first of these two statements is entirely unsupported. But I am not quite prepared to follow Begemann, who declares it is incredible. The better educated element which began to come into the Lodges with Payne would very soon have learnt of the existence of copies of the Old Charges, and might be expected to take considerable interest in them. The Craft itself had been multiplying the copies of them all through the seventeenth century. The second entry indicates

clearly not rituals but versions of the Old Charges, and they were of no special secrecy; indeed, Plot had long since printed a very full account of one. The name of Nicholas Stone, warden of Inigo Jones, is obviously not introduced without a purpose, and in *A.Q.C.* xxxiii., 31, Bro. Tuckett suggested that possibly there was a destruction of such documents as would have disclosed evidence of Jesuit and Jacobite intrigues. But that this was done in 1720 for Anderson's benefit, as he goes on to suggest, I think unlikely, since, according to my view, Anderson did not figure in G.L. till the end of the following year. Nor does our Inigo Jones text as it stands—with its unique reference to the Government—suggest to my mind anything either Jacobite or Jesuitical. The passage was written after 1735, and we have to interpret it in accordance with the conditions then prevailing, and not by those of 1721. In *A.Q.C.* xxiii., 24, Bro. Robbins has pointed out that there are three references in 1738 to this loss of records, two under Charles II., at pp. 99 and 105, and the one now quoted. He has no hesitation in describing them as an excuse *ex post facto* to explain the lamentable want of detail in the account of the period given in 1723. I think there is another element in it, too. In 1735 there were in print a series of copies of the Old Charges, of Sloane, Roberts and Spencer Families, all claiming to be reproductions of manuscripts many centuries old, and, no doubt, there was also the Inigo Jones version itself. These were competing with Anderson's *Constitutions*, not to its advantage, and the entry looks to me like an attempt to discredit them. The omission to record the fact that Payne produced the Cooke Text in 1721 need be due to no more recondite a cause than that Anderson knew nothing about it, or that in 1735 he had forgotten what actually occurred, and I must admit that it is possible that the allegation he does make as to Payne may have no better foundation than a hazy recollection of the incident of a later date.

The History has often been sifted to discover hints on the ritual of the time, and there is surely something of significance in this respect in the long footnote on Hiram Abiff, which strongly suggests that in 1722 or earlier the Craft were interested in the name and its interpretation. But no such significance can, I think, be attached to a series of phrases implying secrecy, which Anderson introduces during the narrative. They are as follows:—

> (p. 4). In these parts upon the Tygris and Euphrates afterwards flourish'd many learned Priests and Mathematicians known by the Names of Chaldees and Magi who preserv'd the good Science, Geometry, as the Kings and great Men encourag'd the Royal Art. But it is not expedient to speak more plain of the premises, except in a formed Lodge.
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> (p. 8). So that the Israelites at their leaving Egypt, were a whole Kingdom of Masons, well instructed, under the conduct of their Grand Master Moses who often marshall'd them into a regular and general Lodge, while in the Wilderness, and gave them wise Charges Orders &c., had they been well observ'd! But no more of the Premises must be mention'd.
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> (p. 9 note). The glorious Sampson . . . was also intangled in the same Death which he drew upon his enemies for putting out his Eyes, after he had reveal'd his Secrets to his Wife, that betray'd him into their Hands; for which Weakness he never had the Honour to be number'd among Masons: But it is not convenient to write more of this.
>
> (p. 13). But leaving what must not, and, indeed cannot, be communicated by Writing, we may warrantably affirm that however ambitious the Heathen were in cultivating of the Royal Art, it was never perfected, until God condescended to instruct his peculiar People in rearing the above-mention'd stately Tent, and in building at length this gorgeous House . . .

> (p. 29 note). No doubt several Saxon and Scotish Kings . . . became the Grand Masters of those early Lodges . . . But neither what was convey'd nor the Manner how, can be communicated by writing; as no man can indeed understand it without the Key of a Fellow-Craft.

to which should be added the following instance from the Fourth Charge:—

> No Master or Warden is chosen by Seniority but for his Merit. It is impossible to describe these things in writing and every Brother must attend in his place and learn them in a way peculiar to this Fraternity.

In the note on Hiram Abiff, where we might expect something of the kind, no such comment occurs, and the very frequency of these interjections, as well as the wholly incongruous passages in which they occur, will surely justify us in disregarding them and considering them as no more than empty phrases added to produce an air of mystery where none in fact exists.

Nor can the reference in the concluding paragraph cited already to the well built Arch be adduced as indicating the existence at the time of the R.A., if it is accepted that the *Arch* of the degree is not the architectural form, but the word as we have it in Archdeacon, or Archbishop, where it indicates a higher status. On the other hand, Anderson does give a prominence which may be significant to the Tabernacle of Moses, Bezaleel and Aholiab, and to the second Temple of Zerrubbabel (whose coadjutors are not, however, named); but here again these passages have no tag about not mentioning more of the premises, etc., which one would expect if they had any hidden application.

It was probably Plot's references to the Statute of 1425 that led Anderson to deal with it at some length and in characteristic fashion. He first of all misquotes it, as Gould pointed out long ago; he then contrasts it with the statement of the Plot Family Text that Henry VI. and his Council approved the Charges. He goes on to make a suggestion of his own—alleging Tradition as his authority as usual—that the Law was enacted through the influence of illiterate Clergy who were hostile to the Craft, and he returns to the matter in the Postcript at p. 57, where he cites an opinion of Coke that no indictment could now lie under the Statute since it was repealed by 5 Eliz. c. 4, deducing from this that the Tradition of Old Masons (once more) is confirmed that Coke was a faithful Brother. And yet Desaguliers could write in his Dedication of the "Pains our learned Author has taken in compiling and digesting this book from the Old Records, and how accurately he has compar'd and made everything agreeable to History and Chronology." One does not know which most to admire, the simplicity of the Author, to put it in the best light, or the credulity, to call it by no worse name, of the learned Doctor of Laws.

## SCOTTISH ALLUSIONS AND INFLUENCES.

It would serve no useful purpose to review in detail the rest of the History, or point out its many absurdities, though they are as nothing compared to what Anderson was able to do in that way in 1738. But it will be convenient to bring together at this stage the references to Scots Masonry and the instances of Scots terminology in the whole work. In accordance with his general scheme he magnifies the part taken by Scotland in the history of the science. His argument is that whereas in England monarchs were not always favourable, the Kings of Scotland very much encouraged the Royal Art, Lodges were there kept up without interruption many hundred years, and the old Toast among Scots Masons was "God bless the King and the Craft." The Kings were often Grand Masters until

> "the Masons of Scotland were inpower'd to have a certain and fix'd Grand Master and Grand Warden who had a salary from the Crown, and also an acknowledgment from every New Brother in the Kingdom at Entrance, whose Business was not only to regulate what might happen amiss in the Brotherhood, but also to hear and finally determine

> all Controversies between Mason and Lord, to punish the Mason if he deserv'd it, and to oblige both to equitable Terms; At which Hearings, if the Grand Master was absent (who was always nobly born), the Grand Warden presided."

Thus it was that, when England was so fortunate as to have King James VI. of Scotland succeed to the Crown, the Lodges were revived and the Roman architecture was recovered from the ruins of Gothic ignorance. He had better warrant than usual for his assertion that the Lodges had kept up many hundred years. He was no doubt familiar with the Aberdeen records, which mention a Lodge in that city in 1483. Some of his other statements may perhaps be a reminiscence of the Schaw Statutes; to that of 1598 the Lodge at Aberdeen was a party. The Toast reminds us of the trowel in the possession of Lodge Glasgow St. John, No. 3 bis, which has on it "God save the King and Masons Craft," with the date 1684. His Kings as Grand Masters have no existence in fact and no such terms as Grand Master and Grand Warden were as yet known in Scotland, the highest officer being the General Warden; but it is on record that in 1590 a Warden was appointed over the Masons in Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine, under the General Warden for Scotland, by James VI., and Anderson may also have been aware of the St. Clair Charter which records the appointment of a Patron and Protector, though the Aberdeen Lodge does not appear to have been a party to this document. The statement that the Grand Warden had an acknowledgment from every New Brother in the Kingdom at his entrance appears to have no foundation in fact. The Scots practice was to *enter* each apprentice in the records, and, as we see in the Aberdeen Laws, his admission was spoken of as his entering and he was thenceforward described as an Entered Prentice. At Aberdeen the Lodge consisted of the Masters and Entered Prentices, and it is in the *Constitutions* of 1723 that the term makes its first appearance in England. But it is not the term used in the Charges or Regulations or anywhere else in the body of the work. Anderson introduces it into one of his alleged quotations from an ancient Manuscript, which reads: "That enter'd Prentices at their making were charg'd not to be Thieves or Thieves' maintainers" (note on p. 34); the original is, of course, 'Mason.' He seems here to be paving the way for a claim that his Scotch term is supported by English tradition, but the only other appearance of the phrase in the whole work is in the title given to Mr. Matthew Birkhead's Song, where it is printed ''Prentice,' which seems to be a compromise between English Apprentice and Scotch Prentis. The term Fellow Craft also occurs in the Aberdeen Laws; it is used with reference to the 'handycrafts prentice' who has received his fellowship of the trade. Fellow Craft or Fellow of Craft is a constantly recurring phrase in early Scots Masonry. In the Fourth Charge this term Fellow Craft is used, and this is its first appearance in the Charges in England. In the next Charge the phrase is Fellow Craftsmen, which was also known in Scotland (*cf.* the Scoon and Perth By-Laws), but Anderson (or Desaguliers) seems to have dropped it in favour of the shorter phrase, and it does not occur elsewhere in the *Constitutions*. Fellow Craft is of constant occurrence; Anderson uses it twice in the History; nevertheless, exactly when the First Degree came to be spoken of as the Entered Apprentice, and the second as the Fellow Craft, and by whom these terms were originally assigned to them, are matters as to which the *Constitutions* of 1723 afford us no guidance. Of course, the tri-gradal system is of later date; but it must be remembered that the indications are that after the mixed reception the *Constitutions* of 1723 received Anderson took no active part in the affairs of Grand Lodge, where he was not again seen till 1730. The way in which the expression Apprentice is used, not only in the well-known sentence in Regulation XIII.: "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here," but also in Regulation XXXIX.: "and that they be offered also to the perusal of all the Brethren before dinner, in writing, even of the youngest Apprentice," which is even more significant, seems to involve that up to the time of the work going to press the phrase for a Brother not yet a Fellow Craft was 'Apprentice' simply. The fact that the Birkhead Song is now styled "The Entered 'Prentice's Song," its

original title having been "The Free Mason's health," may, however, imply that the new designation was already coming into fashion.

A sentence in the tenth paragraph of the Fifth Charge: "Nor shall Free Masons work with those that are not free, without an urgent Necessity," which has no precise counterpart in the Charges General and Special, suggests that Anderson had in mind the fifteenth clause of the first Schaw Statute, which was to the effect that no Master should receive any Cowans to work in his society, or send any of his servants to work with them; or it may be merely a reminiscence of the Scotch Craft rule to the same effect, to which references are found in the Edinburgh Minutes, which forbade a master to employ a Cowan, an unobligated and less skilful workman, unless no fully instructed mason was available.

The only other detail in the work for which a Scotch prototype may be claimed is Anderson's manner of signing his name to the Approbation. He here appears as the Master of a Lodge, and he adds to his signature the words: The AUTHOR of this BOOK. This reminds us in a remarkable manner of the signature in the Aberdeen Mark Book:—

> James Anderson Glassier and Measson and Wreatter of this book 1670 and Maister of our Lodge in the year of God 1688 and 1694.

This must needs have been another James Anderson, possibly a relative. But if the Doctor was at any time a member of the Aberdeen Lodge the entry will have been familiar to him.

## THE CHARGES.

The title-page of the work states that it is "For the use of the Lodges." But the Charges are "for the use of the Lodges in London," and the General Regulations are "for the Use of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster." A similar phrase recurs in the Approbation which refers to the work as ordered to be printed for the use of the Lodges, and now approved with the consent of the Brethren and Fellows in and about the Cities of London and Westminster. The special heading of the History contains no corresponding phrase, and the History itself in its concluding passage has "this fair metropolis flourisheth, as well as other parts, with several worthy particular Lodges, etc." In fact, no recognised Lodge met outside the Bills of Mortality until that at the Duke of Chandos' Arms, Edgeware, in 1723, while it was not until 1724 that Lodges were warranted at any considerable distance from London, the first being at Bath and Bristol. Payne's Regulations were undoubtedly drafted for a body the extension of which beyond London and Westminster was hardly contemplated, and when that development did take place they were soon seen to be unworkable, and alterations were found necessary in 1725. The Charges were conceived in the same spirit, and while we need not interpret the words "as well as other parts" of the History with any strictness, it is possible that the wider phrase of the title-page was framed with an eye to possibilities which were beginning to make themselves evident.

The History is directed to be read at the admission of a New Brother, and this injunction is repeated in 1738, when its application to 139 pages of print requiring some 2½ hours' steady reading to get through is sufficiently ridiculous. Even in 1723 the reading of the historical section is a good half-hour's task, and no doubt Anderson prescribed it on his own authority, following the pattern of the Old Charges. But his Charges are to be read "at the making of New Brethren or when the Master shall order it"; while as to the Regulations no reading is prescribed, although at the end of the Approbation we have that 'these,' meaning apparently the whole work, are "to be read at the making of new Brethren, or when the Master shall think fit; and which the new Brethren should peruse before they are made," an instruction of a very indeterminate and optional character. In the Old Charges the wording suggests that it was precisely the Charges General and Special that were read in detail, and it was to their maintenance that the newly-admitted craftsman was obligated, the History being possibly read on some

other occasion. So that Anderson has managed precisely to invert the operative practice. To-day, no doubt, we preserve a recollection of the original system when we read over the Master's Charges on Installation night.

The heading to the Charges is:—

> The | Charges | of a | FREEMASON | extracted from | The ancient Records of Lodges | beyond Sea, and of those in England, Scotland, and | Ireland, for the Use of the Lodges in London: | to be read | At the Making of New Brethren, or when the | Master shall order it.

It will be noticed that Anderson does not here say expressly, as he does in the Regulations, that it is his own work, but in the Approbation the phrase is "he has accordingly examin'd several copies from Italy and Scotland, and sundry parts of England, and from thence . . . has drawn forth the above-written new Constitutions, with the Charges and General Regulations," which seems to be a sufficiently definite statement on the point, and though one does not *know* to whom the wording of the Approbation is to be ascribed, it reads very much like Anderson himself.

With the "copies from Italy and Scotland, and sundry parts of England," of this Approbation we naturally compare the "ancient Records of Lodges beyond Sea, and of those in England, Scotland and Ireland," of the Charges, and the discrepancy as to Ireland is immediately apparent. Were it not for this, one might have been inclined to attach some importance to the earlier statement. That there was Freemasonry in Dublin in 1688 and elsewhere in Ireland at other times before the formation of our Grand Lodge in 1717 has been shewn by Chetwode Crawley. The existence of contemporaneous Irish versions of the Old Charges is by no means an impossibility, though none have so far come to light; and the dedication to *Long Livers*, published in about March or April, 1722, is to the Grand Master, etc., of the Freemasons of Great Britain and Ireland, which certainly suggests that at that date it was known in London that Freemasonry existed in that country, although the implication that it was under the same Grand Master, Montagu, is probably unwarranted. But that Anderson ever consulted any Irish records we may safely doubt.

Again, with regard to the 'records of Lodges beyond Sea' or in Italy, Anderson certainly never saw anything of the kind, but we can see where he got the idea. In the History he purports to quote from a record of the reign of Edward IV., that Athelstan encouraged Masons from France who brought with them the Charges and Regulations of the Lodges preserved since the Roman times. This passage, for all its quotation marks, is a sheer invention of his own. Further on he quotes the writings and records brought to Edwin,'some in Greek, some in Latin, and some in French, and this passage he would find in a text of the Sloane or G.L. Families, as already mentioned. Athelstan's Masons from France are obviously his own extension of this suggestion, and, once that is made, Anderson would naturally feel quite entitled to assert that he himself had consulted these records from beyond Sea in general or from Italy in particular.

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As soon as it was decided that the new publication was to include, not merely a history, but Regulations and Charges, it will have been obvious that it would supersede the old MS. Charges in every respect. The history being a separate section there would, perhaps, have been no particular relevancy in introducing at its commencement the prayer which stood at the head of all the Old Versions, and with which in earlier days the proceedings were presumably opened, *cf.* Hawkins in *A.Q.C.* xxvi., and also the form in which this prayer is presented in the Aberdeen version. In this section Anderson proceeds from his title direct to his First Charge, and accordingly the result is that the invocation of the original MSS. disappears entirely. It would, however, be pressing the circumstances too far to say that this omission of the prayer was done with the design, or had the effect of depriving the Craft of its religious atmosphere. We will be safe in assuming that by 1722 the Lodges were already working ceremonies that were

quite independent of the Old Charges, which probably now played only a subsidiary part in them, if, indeed, they came in at all. And these ceremonies would be in no way affected by the circumstance that there is nowhere in Anderson's Constitutions anything in the nature of a prayer or invocation. But when we come to consider the phraseology of his First Charge the matter assumes a different aspect. This is the celebrated Charge "Concerning God and Religion" which substituted for the direct injunction of loyalty to God and Holy Church of the original Charges the phrase: "'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves." As Gould remarks (ii., 400), the diverse religious views of members of Grand Lodge at the time must have shewn them the necessity of uniting on a platform which would divide them the least; and the language of the Sixth Charge, as to avoiding quarrels about religion, suggests that from its first inception the Grand Lodge had taken the line that had already been taken by the Royal Society many years previously of forbidding discussion on the topic as the only means of preserving harmony among persons of different religious opinions. Much has been written as to the exact meaning of Anderson's phrase 'irreligious libertine'; but it seems fairly obvious that it means what to-day we would call a Freethinker. The two classes of men who are denounced are men of no religion and men to whom one religion is as good as another. It is possible, indeed, that Anderson and his colleagues felt that their new Charges could not ignore the question, which had always stood in the forefront of the Charges General and Special, for to do so would be at once to lay the Craft open to a charge of irreligion, a charge that is, in fact, brought against it by Verus Commodus. But he, or those who helped him, got over the difficulty by devising a form of words which no one could cavil at, at all events, on the ground of definiteness. The 'Religion in which all men agree,' which, in the Sixth Charge, Anderson refers to as "the Catholic Religion above mentioned," has yet to be revealed. Begemann is of opinion that Anderson, writing for a London audience, meant Christianity, and intended to imply that as long as a man was a Christian his individual form of that religion was immaterial. But even this appears to place a restriction on the phrase that was not intended, since within a very few years Jews were being admitted to the Craft. It is to be observed that, although the Book of Constitutions was received in a hostile spirit in the following June, the criticisms were directed to the Regulations alone. Nothing is recorded as having been said about the Charges.

Reference has already been made to the *Long Livers* of Eugenius Philalethes, with its dedication "To the Grand Master, Masters and Wardens and Brethren of the Most Antient and most Honourable Fraternity of the Freemasons of Great Britain and Ireland." He describes Cain as the first False Brother, and his references to Solomon are anything but flattering, the Temple being ignored. But as regards the History, Anderson and he were presumably writing much about the same time and without knowledge of each other's work or views.

The Charges do, however, reflect opinions similar to some he gives expression to. He suggests that no Mason can ever be an Atheist, and that they need not be uneasy if some of the learned among them are ignorantly so described. He goes on to say: "The next thing that I shall remember you of is to avoid Politics and Religion"; by which he means not merely the discussion of them but 'any association with them as a Society, for,' he says, 'our Politics is merely to be honest and our Religion the Law of Nature and to love God above all things, and our Neighbour as our self; this is the true, primitive, catholic and universal Religion, agreed to be so in all Times and Ages.' This reminds us very strongly of the Religion 'in which all men agree' of the First Charge. He himself, however, writes throughout from a definitely Christian and Trinitarian standpoint, and later on in the Dedication, he advises the brethren to be very respectful to all clergymen, especially those of the Established Church. The advice he gives further on, to avoid all recourse to law, is also repeated in the concluding paragraph of the Charges, but this was to be found in the Charges General and Special, from which, no doubt, it was derived in both cases.

The phrase we have been discussing is preceded by a statement that in ancient times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was. For this Anderson found no warrant in his originals. In Cotton's translation of Montaigne's Essays, the third edition of 1700, there occurs, towards the end of the Essay *Apology for Raimond de Sebonde*, this passage: "How could that ancient God more clearly accuse the ignorance of human knowledge concerning the divine being, and give men to understand, that their religion was but a thing of their own contrivance, useful as a bound to their society, than in declaring, as he did to those who came to his tripod for instruction, that everyone's true worship was that which he found in use in the place where he chanced to be." The source from which Montaigne took this has not been identified, apparently; Hazlitt ascribes it to Xenophon, a passage in the *Memorab. Socratii*; (I am indebted for this reference to Bro. Covey-Crump); and Bro Tuckett has reminded me of the Latin maxim which conveys the same idea; CUJUS REGIO EJUS RELIGIO. This was the principle laid down at the Peace of Augsburg on September 25, 1555, which called on each Territorial secular Prince to elect whether the Catholic or the Lutheran faith was to be the religion of his subjects. Anderson may have recalled the maxim, or he may have read the passage in Xenophon; but the turn of his phrase suggests, to me at all events, that we need not go further back than Montaigne for its source.

The Second Charge "Of the Civil Magistrate supreme and subordinate" is an extension of the second General Charge, but it contains a remarkable clause that if a Brother be a Rebel, he cannot, as long as he is convicted of no other crime, be expelled from the Lodge. This should be compared with General Regulation IX., which directs that a brother who so misbehaves himself as to render his Lodge uneasy should be twice duly admonished, and if he does not reform, dealt with according to the By-Laws, or else by Quarterly Communication "for which a new Regulation may be afterwards made." Both pronouncements strongly suggest that it was now thought desirable to keep on terms with the Jacobite element in the Lodges and to avoid offending the Jacobite proclivities of the new Grand Master, while still maintaining the Craft's tradition of loyalty to the Civil Power.

The Third Charge "Of Lodges" begins with the words "A Lodge is a Place where Masons assemble and work; Hence that Assembly, or duly organis'd Society of Masons, is called a Lodge." So that the word Lodge, it is interesting to notice, was still at this time being used in its primary sense. The text goes on "and every Brother ought to belong to one, and to be subject to its By-Laws and the General Regulations. It is either particular or general and will be best understood by attending it, and by the Regulations of the General or Grand Lodge hereunto annexed." We may be fairly certain that Payne's Regulations in their original form dealt with 'particular' Lodges; but the wording shews that the phraseology of the Charge itself was not settled until after the decision to print the Regulations had been arrived at. The phrase "particular Lodge' is that used throughout the work for what we should now speak of as a Private Lodge. Exactly what Anderson meant by his general Lodge (with a small g) is not clear; if it meant something distinct from his General or Grand Lodge, it may have been a Lodge to which Masons generally were admitted and not only those who were members of a particular body. In that case it makes a distinction which has not been preserved, and hints at a state of affairs which would naturally pass away as soon as Private Lodges began to come into existence in sufficient numbers. The next sentence, which is to the effect that in ancient times no Master or Fellow could be absent without censure, unless pure necessity hindered him, is, no doubt, based on a passage in the Cooke Text. The persons admitted members must be "good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report." This is most of it in the Old Charges. The exclusion of women, if nowhere stated in terms, was, however, very definitely implied. The phrase "mature and of discreet age" is an addition involved by the new conditions; the New Articles

of the Roberts prescribed one-and-twenty years or more; and the phrase 'of good report,' which has since become so familiar to the Craft, is also now first introduced, the corresponding phrase in the New Articles being 'of good reputation.' It was no doubt taken from the Authorised Version, and it also occurs in Coverdale's Bible, 1535, in which we read 'Judith was a woman of a very good report' (Judith viii., 13). The N.E.D. also gives, from the writings of a Commonwealth divine: 'recreations, which are of good report among the saints.'

The Fourth Charge "Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices" is for the most part based on the Old Charges. But the references to the Grand Lodge and G.L. Officers are, of course, new introductions, notwithstanding Anderson's assertion in the concluding sentence that these Rulers are to be obey'd by all the Brethren, according to the Old Charges and Regulations. The phrase "Only Candidates may know, that no Master should take an Apprentice, unless he has sufficient Imployment for him," is a reference to an additional Charge found only in certain G.L. texts, of which the Harris I. is one. G.L. I. reads: "Also that no mason take any prentice unless he have sufficient occupation for to set him on or to set iii of his fellows or ii at the least on work." The Harris Text is: "No Mason shall take an Apprentice unless he have sufficient occupation or Work to employ him in, and have two or three more Fellows at least."

The Fifth Charge "Of the Management of the Craft in Working" consists of ten paragraphs, the prototypes of which are all to be found in one text or another of the Old Charges. Reference has already been made to the ninth, which is peculiar to the Roberts Family, as also to the fact that part of the tenth is Scotch, rather than English Craft Law.

The Sixth Charge "Of Behaviour" consists of six sections, and while parts of it are based on passages in the Old Charges the material is very freely handled with much added that is entirely new. The injunction to avoid discussions on Politics and private piques and quarrels about Religion is not quite the same as the advice of Eugenius Philalethes, which was rather to avoid any appearance of being as a Society associated with any particular party in politics or religious sect. That the Royal Society had adopted a similar policy has already been mentioned, and at the time Montagu and Desaguliers, besides others, belonged to both associations. Anderson cannot avoid adding to this section his inevitable tag: "This Charge has been always strictly enjoined and observed; but especially ever since the Reformation in Britain, or the Dissent and Secession of these Nations from the Communion of Rome," which, it is perhaps needless to say, is a perfectly gratuitous statement.

In the fifth section there occurs another of his hints of mystery. "You are . . . not to let your Family, Friends and Neighbours know the Concerns of the Lodge, Etc., but wisely to consult your own Honour, and that of the ancient Brotherhood, for Reasons not to be mention'd here." In this case it may be considered to have some justification.

Then comes a concluding paragraph as to avoiding slanders, and never taking one's wrongs into court if possible, but submitting them to the arbitration of the Brethren. Yet if there must be a lawsuit, let it be conducted without "Wrath and Rancour (not in the common way), saying or doing nothing which may hinder Brotherly Love, and good offices to be renew'd and continu'd." Here again most of the material is old; but there is a remarkable similarity to the twelfth Charge of the Harris Text, a charge peculiar to that Branch, where we have that if the dispute cannot be settled by the Assembly, then "They may go to Law but yet with so much Love one to another, that the Law may decide the Cause, and not procure any Evil between them." Anderson would find in this text each of the three passages I have alluded to above as indicative of his use of some text of the G.L. Family in the Historical section.

He concludes the Charges with *Amen so mote it be*, which he no doubt took from the Cooke.

In 1738 Anderson did not leave a single one of these Charges unaltered. He expanded here, he abbreviated there, he made significant alterations in one place and in another some trifling verbal change, but all, apparently, entirely on

his own responsibility. Nevertheless, the heading declares that these are the Charges that had been ordered to be printed in the first edition of the Constitutions on 25th March, 1722, this date being, of course, in accordance with the statements now made in the History. But in 1756 Entick restored the Charges of 1723 verbatim; so also in 1767 and 1784 the original wording was preserved practically unaltered throughout. Indeed, except for the change of 'part (of a F.C.)' into 'degree' in the Fourth Charge, and the introduction in the same Charge of references to serving as a Grand Steward and the Deputy G.M., the alterations made are purely verbal, or relate to spelling and punctuation. Accordingly, it would be unwise to lay any stress at all on the change of phraseology in the First Charge with regard to the Religion in which all men agree, or on the reference now introduced to Christian Masons. This is not an attempt on the part of G.L. to meet objections to the original Charge; it is merely an unauthorised variation of Anderson's own introduction, to be immediately discarded in favour of the original text in the very next official edition of the Constitutions.

## THE REGULATIONS.

The History and the Charges might be regarded as a re-writing, in a form more suitable to the period, of documents that had always been in possession of the Craft, such of the old material as was still appropriate being carefully preserved; this, at all events, is how they were put forward by Anderson and Desaguliers. But with the General Regulations we break new ground; we are now dealing with a manifest and an inevitable innovation, although here again Anderson does his best to imply that it was nothing of the sort. Up to the second Grand Mastership of Payne it does not appear that the Craft had increased very greatly in numbers or importance. Stukeley tells us that when he was initiated, on 6th January, 1721, with Mr. Collins and Captain Rowe, he was the first person made a Freemason in London for many years, and they had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Neither of these statements is easy of acceptance; Desaguliers, at all events, must surely have been a later recruit to Grand Lodge than Payne for instance. But when he goes on to say that afterwards it took a run, this is quite in accordance with what we know from other sources of Payne's second year of office. Previous Festivals had been held at the Goose and Gridiron, but it was Payne who found it necessary to propose that the Feast of 1721, at the close of his second term, should be held at Stationers' Hall, in view of the increasing numbers. These new accessions necessarily raised a problem with which the Craft had not hitherto been confronted. The position of established Lodges was, perhaps, of no great difficulty; they had only to signify their adhesion to Grand Lodge to be recognised. There were certainly other Lodges in London at the time besides the Four Old Lodges; Stukeley's Lodge of 6th January, 1721, at the Salutation Tavern, is a case in point. It is more than likely that many of the first constitutions granted were for bodies which had already been meeting as Lodges on their own account for some time previously. But the question must now have arisen whether it was *possible* to form entirely new Lodges, and whether they could be recognised. The necessity for them must have very soon become apparent, and probably the first of them were swarms from one or other of the older bodies. We may, I think, take it that the New Set of Articles to be observed which Grand Master Payne read over on 24th June, 1721, dealt with this question, and sanctioned their formation. It is the case that the first ascertained authorisation for a New Lodge bears date 11th July, 1721, and that there appears to have been only one given prior to this, that namely for the Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel St., the date of which is unknown, but there is nothing that compels us to date it anterior to the meeting of 24th June. I shall return to the whole question of the actual number of Lodges in existence at various dates when dealing with the Approbation. The Regulations as Anderson gives them deal not only with 'particular' Lodges, and new Lodges, but also with Grand Lodge, the G.M.

and G.Officers, and the Grand Feast. It is quite impossible to say how much of all this was in Payne's Articles, but several clauses suggest very strongly that they owe their inception to incidents of a later date.

An analysis of each of the XXXIX. Regulations separately would serve no useful purpose, but a few matters of detail have to be discussed in connection with them, while Regulation XIII. has, of course, in the past been the battle-ground of the Two *versus* Three Degree theorists. The first eleven relate to 'particular Lodges'; Nos. XII.-XXI. to Grand Lodge and G.L. Officers; Nos. XXII.-XXXIX. to the Feast and the election of the G.M. The heading is as follows (disregarding typographical peculiarities):—

GENERAL REGULATIONS,

> Compiled first by Mr. George Payne, Anno 1720, when he was Grand Master, and approv'd by the Grand-Lodge on St. John Baptist's Day, Anno 1721, at Stationers' Hall, London; when the most noble Prince John Duke of Montagu was unanimously chosen our Grand-Master for the Year ensuing; who chose John Beal M.D. his Deputy Grand-Master; and Mr. Josiah Villeneau / Mr. Thomas Morris, jun. were chosen by the Lodge Grand-Wardens. And now, by the Command of our said Right Worshipful Grand Master Montagu, the Author of this Book has compar'd them with, and reduc'd them to the ancient Records and immemorial Usages of the Fraternity, and digested them into this new Method, with several proper Explications, for the Use of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to observe that Anderson's assertion that he has reduced these Regulations to (*i.e.*, re-cast them so as to be in harmony with) the Ancient Records and immemorial Usages of the Craft is of a piece with his other assertions of the kind. Stukeley's phrase already quoted is that Payne read over a new set of articles to be observed; there was no question of their being approved, as is here alleged, presumably because G.L. had not yet assumed the power to make laws for the Craft. In the History, in 1738, no mention is made of Payne's articles being read or approved on 24th June, 1721, although the meeting is described at length. Again, in this heading Anderson says in terms that he has re-written Payne's enactments. But he adds to his final Regulation, which is to the effect that the Regulations can only be altered or added to in Annual Grand Lodge, being submitted for the approval of all present, the words "as it was desired and obtained for these Regulations, when proposed by the Grand Lodge, to about 150 Brethren, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1721." This, as referring to Anderson's text, is manifest nonsense, but the statement re-appears in 1738.

In the account of that meeting (1738, p. 113) Anderson says that Montagu himself appointed his Deputy and his Wardens. Here he says the Wardens were chosen by G.L.; and he gives as the Regulation that they are to be nominated by the G.M., and approved by G.L., Regulation XXXV., part 2. In fact, the practice was for the G.M. to appoint his Wardens, there being no question of any approval by G.L. Anderson himself has actually recorded for us a resolution to this effect, which, he says, was passed on 27th December, 1720; we find under this date in the History (1738, p. 111), "also agreed that for the future the New Grand Master, as soon as he is installed, shall have the sole power of appointing both his Grand Wardens and a Deputy G.M., etc."; while he now adds a note to his Regulation which amounts to saying that it was never observed. The only occasion when there was any question of confirmation by G.L. was with regard to the Wardens appointed by the Earl of Dalkeith, in 1723, when it was thought necessary, apparently because of Anderson's Regulations just published, to ask G.L. formally to confirm the appointment. But before the next G.M. was elected, G.L. declared that the G.M. has power to appoint his Wardens, and if Anderson himself is to be believed it was then merely re-affirming the decision of

three years previously. The conclusion is inevitable that the second part of Anderson's Regulation XXXV. is unauthorised at least, if not purely his own invention.

The first part of Regulation XXXV. lays down that the G.M. has the power of appointing his Deputy. Montagu had appointed Beal, and what Wharton did is uncertain, but he probably appointed Desaguliers in the same fashion. When Wharton's successor was elected by G.L. he nominated Desaguliers as his Deputy, but Wharton insisted on a vote being taken, although Anderson's Regulation was cited, and, in fact, Desaguliers only secured a bare majority. But this action of Wharton's was stigmatised as unprecedented, unwarrantable and irregular, and at a later meeting the principle was re-affirmed that the G.M. has power to appoint his Deputy. So that we may take it that the Regulation does in this case represent the actual practice of the Craft. Subsequent Deputies were appointed by their G.M.'s.

With regard to the election of the Grand Master, the Regulations make most elaborate provisions. The Masters and Wardens at the Grand Feast are first to decide whether they will continue the existing G.M. If he declines to accept the invitation, or if they do not decide to continue him, then he is to nominate his successor, who is to be approved by G.L. But if the approbation is not unanimous there is to be a selection by lot (Regulations XXIX.-XXXIV.). In 1738 Anderson appends to No. XXIX. a note that this Regulation was found inconvenient and that on 27th December, *1720*, it was agreed that the New Master should be proposed to the Grand Lodge in advance, and all have since been so proposed and accepted. He goes on to note each of the other five Regulations as never put in practice. When we remember that Payne's New Articles were produced in 1721, six months after the alleged resolution, it is sufficiently obvious that the whole thing, once more, is entirely Anderson's own. It will be remembered that there may have been some difference of opinion at the conclusion of Montagu's term of office as to whether he should continue or Wharton succeed. It looks very much as if Anderson compiled this part of his Regulations with the incidents of 1722 (whatever they were) in his mind. As to the actual facts with regard to the elections of Grand Masters, Anderson, in 1738, makes it appear that the first four, Sayer, Payne, Desaguliers, and Payne again, were elected; that Montagu was proposed by Payne, and Wharton's election was irregular, and that from that time forward every G.M., including Dalkeith, who was Wharton's successor, was proposed by or on behalf of his predecessor, and forthwith saluted as G.M.Elect. The official Minutes shew that Wharton was desired in June to *name* his successor, and the phrase implies that such a nomination would be accepted as a matter of course. But he declined to do so. Dalkeith was then proposed to be 'put in nomination,' and next 'agreed to be put in nomination,' which I take to mean elected, as the next step was to vote for the Deputy he had nominated. Dalkeith's successor, Richmond, was formally approved, but the Minutes do not indicate by whom he was proposed. Richmond was continued for six months by a vote of G.L. in order to shift the time of the Annual Feast, and he recommended his successor. From that time onwards the practice was formally to approve the nomination made by the G.M. or on his behalf. With the one exception noted there was never any procedure of requesting the then G.M. to continue, and once more we can only conclude that Anderson's Regulation had no authority or foundation in fact.

The Regulations about the Feast, Nos. XXII.-XXVIII., also appear to represent Anderson's idea of what the law ought to be, rather than what in fact was observed. They direct that the Grand Wardens are to prepare tickets and manage the whole Feast with the assistance of Stewards, and to render accounts. The Lodges are each to send a member to assist in examining visitors. According to the History, Payne wanted to have Stewards in 1721, but the proposal fell through, and Villeneau undertook the whole himself. In 1722 there was no Feast, and in 1723 the tickets were ordered to be ten shillings, and were specially printed and sealed, and Stewards were appointed. The official Minutes give us the regulations for the Feast of 1724, which refer to Stewards and tickets, but

it is not till 27th November, 1725, that we find the G.M. recommending to the several Lodges the sending a Skilfull Br. of each Lodge early to the Hall to examine the Brn. as they come in. This suggests that no such practice had as yet been adopted. Robert Samber asserts that he attended the Feast of 1722; "An Eye-witness of this was I myself, at their late General Meeting at Stationer's Hall, who having learn'd some of their catechism, pass'd my Examination, paid my Five Shillings, and took my place accordingly" (Bain *Reprint* 2, x.). This indicates that in 1722, at all events, which is the Feast which Anderson ignores, the arrangements as to admission were not very strict. It is probable that better arrangements were made in 1723, when possibly tickets were first introduced,—Samber does not seem to have had one,—but it is quite unlikely that G.L. at any time drew up the elaborate enactments which Anderson gives us, and, in fact, as just shewn, two and a half years later the principle of his Regulation XXV. was put forward as a new suggestion, which even then did not become a Regulation, for it is repeated in the following years.

The Regulations Nos. XII.-XXI. relate to Grand Lodge, and here it is evident that the legislation is anticipatory, at all events, since Regulation XIII. provides for a Secretary, a Charity Fund and a Treasurer, as also a Grand Tyler. Anderson, however, thinks it advisable to add that these offices may be farther explained by a new Regulation. In fact, no Secretary was appointed till 24th June, 1723; the question of a Charity Fund was first discussed on 21st November, 1724; and it was in connection with the quarterly payments proposed to this Fund that a Treasurer was to be appointed. This officer was eventually nominated by the G.M., not appointed by G.L. as Anderson's Regulation had prescribed, and the office was not filled till 24th June, 1727. Exactly when Grand Lodge first appointed a Tyler is uncertain, but we seem to recognise him in Bro. Clinch, who, according to the History, was to clear the way in G.M. Richmond's procession of 24th June, 1724. In the next year this office was performed by Bro. Johnson; but the first appearance of the word in the G.L. Minutes is not till 8th June, 1732.

Again this same Regulation provides that each Master of a Lodge shall submit a list of his members. But that this was not as yet the law of the Craft is demonstrated by the circumstance that the practice was directed by a resolution of G.L. on the 25th November in this year.

We now come to the celebrated clause in this Regulation "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here, unless by a Dispensation." We have seen with regard to others of Anderson's enactments that some were ignored and others negatived by a resolution of Grand Lodge. But in this case it is noteworthy that the direction was formally *repealed* on 27th November, 1725, when the Craft reverted to what was presumably the original custom, that Lodges made Masters at their discretion. This appears to indicate that in this case Anderson definitely had authority for his Regulation, and it may, therefore, have formed part of Payne's New Articles. There is no reference in the History to its introduction. If, as appears probable, Stukeley was, on 6th January, 1721, made a Master Mason and not merely a Mason at the Salutation Tavern, that was in any case before the New Articles were promulgated. In 1738, in citing the resolution of 27th November, 1725, Anderson alters the original Regulation, he mis-states the terms of the resolution, and he gives the date of it incorrectly.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to revive or even re-state the old discussions as to when the present tri-gradal system took its rise, and what it was derived from. The exact wording of the resolution of 27th November, 1725, as given in the Minutes, is as follows:—

> A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the Gen$^{ll}$ Regulations relating to the Making of Ma$^{rs}$ only at a Quarterly Communication, may be repealed, And that the Ma$^{rs}$ of each Lodge with the consent of his Wardens, And the Majority of the Brethren being Ma$^{rs}$ may make Ma$^{rs}$ at their Discretion,
>
> Agreed, Nem. Con.

A comparison of this with the original sentence in the Regulations and with Anderson's versions in 1738 makes it evident that Master and Fellow Craft were at that time (1723) convertible terms as far as any question of degrees was concerned, implying only one ceremony. The distinction in meaning between the two terms at this date, as indicated by the language of the Regulations and the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, was that all were Fellow Crafts except such as were Masters of Lodges. But the degree itself was called the Master's Part, and it is this circumstance, perhaps, that occasioned the use in the Regulation of the double title that has caused so much debate. The alternative that the Regulation referred to two degrees and the resolution to only one is untenable, for that would mean that the higher degree was restored to the Lodges while the intermediate degree was retained in Grand Lodge, an absurd position. But it is allowable to surmise that the omission of the term Fellow Craft from the resolution of 27th November, 1725, was intentional, and to suggest that this was because an intermediate degree known by that name was now in existence.

The first eleven Regulations, which deal with 'particular' Lodges, direct that the S.W. can act in the Master's absence, that they must have By-Laws, lists of members and Minutes, that they may not make more than five Brethren at once, nor any without a month's notice, and then only by unanimous consent, that new Brethren are to 'clothe the Lodge' and contribute to the Charity, that Brethren may not separate from a Lodge and remain unattached, that New Lodges may be formed only with the G.M.'s warrant, such as form New Lodges but do not apply for the warrant being Rebels not to be countenanced by the Regular Lodges, that the recognition of New Lodges is to be notified to all by the Grand Master, and that they should admonish their unruly members and visit other Lodges. The case of an already existing Lodge which does not apply for the G.M.'s warrant is nowhere provided for. How much of this was in Payne, or how much of it was in fact the law at the time we cannot say, but we shall have reason for thinking that part, at all events, was considered to be unauthorised.

The Minutes of the meeting of Grand Lodge of 24th June, 1723, the very first recorded in the Minute Book, shew us that Anderson's work was received anything but favourably. The record is as follows:—

> The Order of the 17th January 1722/3 printed at the end of the Constitutions page 91 for the publishing the said Constitutions was read purporting, That they had been before approved in Manuscript by the Grand Lodge and were then (viz.) 17th January aforesaid produced in Print and approved by the Society.
>
> Then the Question was moved, That the said General Regulations be confirmed, so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry. The previous question was moved and put, whether the words 'so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry' be part of the Question. Resolved in the affirmative, But the main Question was not put.
>
> And the Question was moved That it is not in the Power of any person, or Body of men, to make any alteration, or Innovation in the Body of Masonry without the Consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge. And the Question being put accordingly Resolved in the affirmative.

It is, perhaps, necessary to point out that 'purporting' in the first paragraph of this Minute does not convey the suggestion of misrepresentation that we now attach to the word. We would record these proceedings to-day in a somewhat different form, perhaps as follows:—

> It was proposed (? and seconded) that the said General Regulations be confirmed so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry.

> An amendment to omit the words 'so far . . . . Masonry' was negatived. But in place of the original proposition the following resolution was adopted by a majority:—That it is not, etc.

Now the license to publish expressly asserts that the Regulations had been already approved in MS., and in print, by G.L. Yet there can be no doubt that there was a strong feeling in Grand Lodge that Anderson's version of the Regulations had never been confirmed; that there was a difference of opinion as to now confirming them, even partially, and that, in fact, this was not done, the resolution condemning alterations without sanction being adopted instead. The question arises: what was it that Grand Lodge took objection to? It was nothing to do with the History or the Charges, since the terms of the Resolution originally proposed specify the Regulations, and as we have seen the wording of the Charges of 1723 was scrupulously reverted to in later editions. It was not the rule about the Master's Part, for they did not trouble to repeal that for two years and more. It appears to me that, as already suggested by Bro. Songhurst (*Q.C.A.* x., 50, note b.), Grand Lodge were more concerned, not with the details of the Regulations themselves, as to which probably opinions differed, but with the general principle that Regulations might not be promulgated at any meeting other than the Annual Feast. Accordingly, instead of putting matters right now by a formal confirmation, whether absolute or with reservations, they preferred to pass their Resolution, which amounted to saying that as these General Regulations had not obtained the consent of the Annual Grand Lodge,—and the word Annual is important,—whatever was new in them was of no effect. In their opinion Wharton and Desaguliers and the Communication of 17th January had exceeded their powers. This is, indeed, exactly what their attitude appears to have been towards the new laws. Anderson's Regulation XXXV. had declared that the G.M. had power to appoint his Deputy. But on 25th November in this year the question is formally propounded in G.L. "Whether the Grand Master has not power to appoint his Deputy" and agreed *nem. con.*, the existence of the Regulation being ignored. Reference has already been made to the way in which the Regulation as to delegates to the Feast from the particular Lodges was ignored in the same way in 1725 and again in 1726.

Where Anderson had made statements with which Grand Lodge now disagreed they appear to have thought that all that was necessary was to affirm the principle without making any sort of reference to the Regulation concerned. Thus at the meeting of 25th November, 1723, the next after that of June, we find:—

> Question 1. Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly Meetings, One of which must be on St. John Baptist Day.
>
> Agreed Nem. Con.

This Resolution makes any innovations there may have been in Anderson's Regulations IV., V., VI. and IX. of no effect, or, rather, removes any impression there may have been in the particular Lodges that they were to be observed, while it re-affirms a direction he had made no mention of as to the obligatory meeting on St. John Baptist Day, a direction which may have been in Payne, but which it is perhaps more likely was preserved as a custom of old standing. So again on 25th April, 1724:—

> Q. Whether the Grand Master has power to appoint his two Grand Wardens.
>
> Agreed Nem. Con.

Anderson's Regulation had denied him this privilege.

The subsequent history of the Regulations bears out this suggestion. In 1738 Anderson reprinted them,—but not verbatim, for he seems to have been constitutionally incapable of copying even his own text correctly,—and added a

confused jumble of notes, 'explications,' and new Regulations. But in 1756 Entick revised the whole, and drew up an entirely new code of Regulations arranged on a different system, for all of which he had authority, in which, however, in some paragraphs, Anderson's original wording was retained. It is Entick's code that has formed the basis of the Constitutions of later date; and it is through Entick that we can still trace to-day here and there in the *Book of Constitutions* phrases that go back to Anderson in 1723. Thus we may compare his No. XIX. with the present No. 17, and certain phrases of his No. XXXIX. with the present No. 4. The expressions 'ample form' and 'due form' also appear to be Anderson's, but they were introduced by him, not now, but in 1738, before which time the official Minutes do not make the distinction.

## WHARTON'S MANNER OF CONSTITUTING.

The Regulations are followed by the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, the full heading of which is:—

POSTSCRIPT.

Here follows the Manner of constituting a New Lodge, as practis'd by his Grace the Duke of Wharton, the present Right Worshipful Grand-Master, according to the ancient Usages of Masons.

This last is the inevitable Andersonian tag which is here even more inappropriate than usual. The Regulations themselves made no provision for constituting; what they enact is that a New Lodge must obtain the Grand Master's warrant. As pointed out by Lane (*A.Q.C.* viii., 193), this does not mean the formal document that we are familiar with, which was unknown in this Grand Lodge before 1757, but merely the approval and sanction of the Grand Master, and the recognition of the new body was effected by its being inscribed in the Register at Grand Lodge, the fact of its having been constituted being then notified to the other Lodges. I have already suggested that it was not till the rest of the work was ready in MS., at the time of the Approbation, that it was decided to insert the Manner of Constituting, although it had no doubt been in use for some time. In November, 1723, Grand Lodge directed that all New Lodges must be regularly constituted before they could be countenanced by it, and by 'regularly' was presumably meant, in accordance with Wharton's manner, which required the ceremony to be conducted by the Grand Master in person or some one specially deputed by him. In the paper referred to above in *A.Q.C.* viii. Bro. Lane has described how in course of time the duty was delegated by 'deputations,' and how eventually the documents we call Warrants came into use.

The text of the Manner was preserved more or less intact in 1738, but with an added paragraph. In later editions it was given practically as it stands in the original, preliminary matter being added in 1815. But the heading suffered vicissitudes. In 1723 it was right and proper for Anderson to give prominence to Wharton's share in the matter. But in 1738 he thought otherwise. His heading then was simply:—

The Antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge.

Entick made it a section of his Regulations, but he also used the heading of 1738, and so did the next two editions, and it was not till 1815, where the heading is "Of Constituting a New Lodge," the "Antient" being dropped, that in the introductory matter credit was once more given to the Grand Master of 1722.

The text affords the only clear indication in the whole work of a prescribed ritual. Reference has already been made to the passages in which Anderson

hints at mysteries where none existed, and to the footnote on Hiram Abiff and its possible significance. Regulation VII. directs that the Candidates "shall also solemnly promise to submit to the Constitutions, the Charges, and Regulations, and to such other good Usages as shall be intimated to them in time and place convenient." The Grand Master is also to be proclaimed, saluted and congratulated, and immediately installed by the last Grand Master, according to Usage; Regulations XXXIII. and XXXIV. These passages do not, however, imply that there was a settled ceremony in either case. But Wharton appears to have now introduced what was, perhaps, an entirely new departure; for the 'Manner' lays down the exact words in which the Deputy is to present the Master-Elect, as well as those in which the Grand Master is to constitute the Lodge "with some other expressions that are proper and usual on that Occasion, but not proper to be written." Reference is then made to the Charges of a Master, which may or may not be the same as we now have, which were printed for publication at least as early as 1777. Next the Grand Master "shall by certain significant Ceremonies and ancient Usages, install him, and present him with the Constitutions, the Lodge-Book, and the Instruments of his Office, not all together but one after another; and after each of them, the Grand Master, or his Deputy, shall rehearse the short and pithy Charge that is suitable to the thing presented." Later on reference is made to the Charges of Wardens, which do not seem to have come down to us, unless our Installation Charges to-day preserve the text of them.

It should be noted that neither in the Manner nor in the Regulations is it anywhere laid down that the Master shall have served the office of Warden. According to Anderson, Montagu himself was Master of a Lodge before his installation as Grand Master, although he can hardly have been initiated many months previously. The only qualification indicated is that the Master and Wardens must be Fellow-Crafts.

## THE APPROBATION.

Reference has already been made to all that calls for comment in the text of the Approbation, and it has also been pointed out that we can date it within narrow limits. It was undoubtedly signed by the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges at a meeting of Grand Lodge, but Anderson in 1738 records none. The reason for this is sufficiently plain. He is bound, in view of his version of the incidents connected with Wharton's election as Grand Master, to suppress any references to meetings over which the Duke presided prior to January 17th, 1723. Yet the phraseology of the license to publish, which was drawn up on that day, refers expressly to two meetings at which the Constitutions were considered by Grand Lodge. It distinctly implies that they were *before* approved in manuscript by the Grand Lodge and *then* produced in print and approved by the Society, and this is how it is actually cited in June, and it is no doubt a perfectly correct statement.

The list of twenty Lodges with the names of all the Masters and Wardens (except two Masters), having been drawn up before the end of December, 1722, is the first List of Lodges in existence. As in 1738 Anderson states that at the meeting of January 17th there were 25 Lodges represented, there having been 24 on the previous 25th March, this list of only twenty has usually been assumed to be incomplete. It was this that led Hughan to say, in his Introduction to the original edition of Lane's *Masonic Records*, that the *Constitutions* of 1723 contained no list of Lodges of any value, while Findel had previously come to the conclusion that five Lodges would not accede to the Constitutions or sign the Approbation (*History*, p. 159). But Gould, in a note at p. 289 of the second volume of his *History*, commenting on this suggestion, observes: "It must be borne in mind, however, that the 'Constitutions' submitted by Anderson in January, 1723, were in print, and that the vicissitudes of the year 1722 must

have rendered it difficult to obtain the signatures of twenty, out of the twenty-four representatives of the Lodges by whom the 'Constitutions' were ordered to be printed on March 25, 1722." Begemann, on the other hand, holds that Anderson's figures of 1738 as to the number of Lodges represented at the various meetings of G.L. are unreliable and usually overstated, and he considers that there were, in fact, no more than twenty Lodges in existence at this time.

Anderson's first reference to New Lodges occurs under date 24th June, 1719: "more new Lodges were constituted." On Lady Day, 1721, he tells us, Payne observing the number of Lodges to increase proposed to hold the next Feast at Stationers' Hall; and at that Feast 12 Lodges were represented, the number of Brethren being 150. He goes on to give the numbers at subsequent meetings as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| on 29 Sep. | 1721 | 16 |
| 27 Dec. | 1721 | 20 |
| 25 Mar. | 1722 | 24 |
| 17 Jan. | 1723 | 25 |
| 23 April | 1723 | 30 |
| 24 June | 1723 | not stated but 400 masons dined elegantly. |

It was at the meeting in November, 1723, that the rule was introduced that New Lodges must be regularly constituted; and it was on the very day of this meeting that the 1723 List of Lodges was commenced. As nothing had been said in Grand Lodge about compiling it, it would appear that the directions given in the Regulations, which require a list to be maintained, were, in fact, in force, and that this list was compiled in accordance with them. But it was an entirely fresh compilation, as it was now to include only the regularly constituted Lodges and no others. The maintenance of a list of Lodges may have been enjoined in the first instance by Payne's New Articles, in which case there will have been earlier official lists which have not been preserved. The list of 1723 is not in chronological order, but the table given at pp. viii.-xx. of Bro. Songhurst's introduction to *Q.C.A.* x. exhibits the dates where ascertained of every Lodge in the list and all that are identified of Anderson's. At pp. 65-75 of volume ii. of his *History*, Begemann has examined the facts presented in Bro. Songhurst's table, and he arrives at the following results. There were in existence

- on 24 June 1721 the Four Old Lodges, and possibly one other, that at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street.
- on 29 Sep. 1721 7 at most (Anderson says 16).
- on 27 Dec. 1721 8 definitely since Stukeley's Lodge was constituted on this day (Anderson gives 20).
- on 25 March 1722 16 at most (Anderson says 24).
- on 25 June 1722 under 20.
- on 17 Jan. 1723 25 (Anderson's figure) is probably near the truth.
- on 25 April 1723 30 (Anderson) is not impossible.
- on 24 June 1723 as 85 votes were recorded in Desaguliers' election this implies 28 to 30 Lodges.

Begemann concludes accordingly that all Anderson's figures up to 25th March, 1722, are too high. But with regard to the critical date, December, 1722, the result of this analysis is merely that the true figure lies between 20 and 25. The consideration which suggests to Begemann that there were no more than twenty Lodges at the time of the Approbation is that the XIX. Lodge of Anderson's list was constituted on 25th November, 1722. The date of constitution of his No. XX. is unknown, but it had disappeared by 1725.

The argument is to some extent weakened by the circumstance that we cannot be certain that Anderson's list is in chronological order. Five Lodges in it are still unidentified, and there is yet another source of confusion. Anderson gives as his No. IX. a Lodge which can be identified as that at the Griffin in Newgate St., and from its position in the list of 1729 we know that this Lodge will not have been constituted before May, 1723. Lane gives the date as May 15th. Begemann declares this is *platterdings unmöglich,* a flat impossibility. But there it is nevertheless. It suggests that in some cases Lodges were in existence and recognised, which, however, postponed the business of formal constitution, which, prior to November, 1723, would not affect their standing, but did have the effect that in 1729 they lost seniority. As will be remembered, No. 11 on the 1729 list was a T.I. Lodge which had a constitution though they wanted it not, and were made to reckon their seniority accordingly. And the possibility of warranted Lodges being in existence in 1722 which entirely declined to conform to the new rule is one we cannot ignore. The difficulty is still further increased when we examine with the help of the list of 1729 the Lodges that can claim to have been in existence in December, 1722. They are eleven in number, as the annexed table shews, and only six of them can be definitely shewn to figure in Anderson's list, while of the remaining five the fact that for three we have the names of the members in 1723 makes it almost certain that they are not represented among those that signed the Approbation. Accordingly we have in December, 1722, fifteen identified and five unidentified Lodges that did sign, and at least three known to be in existence that to all appearance did not. This accords singularly well with the figures Anderson gives, and the possibility of the existence of recognised Lodges at an earlier date which for one reason or another were not recorded in November, 1723,—a possibility that Begemann does not allow for,—leaves it, in fact, quite uncertain what the true figures were at any time, and Anderson's statements for Montagu's and Wharton's years of office may after all be not so wide of the mark. But I am inclined to think that until Payne read over his New Articles, New Lodges, if any existed, were in an anomalous position and, as already stated, only one of date earlier than 11th July, 1721, has left any trace of its existence.

Findel's conclusion that the Lodges that did not sign the Approbation disapproved of it does not seem to be a safe one. It is more likely that they were simply not represented at the meeting. Although later on, as we have seen, Grand Lodge thought it desirable to repudiate the procedings of the meetings of December and January as regards the *Constitutions,* on what was really a technical ground, yet those meetings appear to have been very well attended, and the explanation for what was apparently a new attitude probably is that Wharton's political activities had now made him unpopular with the Craft, as to which *vide A.Q.C.* xxii., 77. That this was so the whole record of the meeting of June, 1723, certainly appears to indicate.

| 1729. | Meeting Place (in 1723). | Date of Constitution. | Whether names of members are given in the lists. 1725 | 1723. | Anderson. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Goose and Gridiron | T. I. | yes | yes | I. | Anderson's first five Lodges are the Four Old Lodges and the Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese, in that order. His 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 become in the list of 1723 1, 3, 2, 5, 4. In the 1729 list they occupy the positions 1, 2, 11, 3; 5 has disappeared. Their order to-day is 1 (as No. 2), 4 (as No. 4), 3 (as No. 12), and 2 has disappeared. |
| 2 | Queen's Head, Turnstile | T. I. | yes | yes | II. | |
| 3 | Horn Tavern | T. I. | yes | yes | IV. | |
| 4 | King's Head, Ivy Lane | 17. Jan. 1722 | yes | no | — | |
| 5 | Three Cranes, Poultry | 11. July 1721 | not in list | no | ? | |
| 6 | Tom's Coffee House | 19. Jan. 1722 | yes | yes | — | |
| 7 | Crown, Royal Exchange | 28. Jan. 1722 | yes | yes | — | |
| 8a, 8b | Duke of Chandos Arms, Edgware | 25. April 1722 | no | yes | — | |
| 9 | Fountain Tavern, Strand | May 1722 | yes | no | VIII. | |
| 10 | George, Charing Cross | 25. Nov. 1722 | yes | yes | XIX. | |
| 11 | Queen's Head, Knave Acre | T. I. | yes | yes | III. | |
| add | | | | | | |
| 19 | Griffin, in Newgate St. | May, 1723 | yes | yes | IX. | |

## THE SONGS: CONCLUSION.

About the Songs there is not much to be said. The first two are Anderson's own composition, as we learn from the 1738 edition. They are both versified histories, following the arrangement of his historical section. The first, or *Master's Song*, concludes with a reference to the noble Duke of Montagu, and the second, *The Warden's Song*, is stated to have been composed since the most noble Prince Philip Duke of Wharton was chosen Grand Master, but they were clearly printed at one time. *The Warden's Song* finishes in the middle of a page, and Anderson fills this up with another of his quotations from an old record of Masons. On this occasion the old record is Stow's *Survey*, the edition of 1633; but he takes his usual liberties with the text. He transfers to Henry V. a statement Stow had made about the Company of Masons in the time of Henry IV., and to a statement about the arms of the Company he adds a sentence of his own: "And that in former times no man was made Free of that Company until he was install'd in some Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, as a necessary Qualification." For this he has no authority whatever either in Stow or anywhere else. He concludes with this passage: "The Brethren in foreign parts have also discovered that several noble and ancient Societies and Orders of men have derived their Charges and Regulations from the Free Masons (which are now the most ancient Order upon Earth) and perhaps were originally all Members too of the said ancient and worshipful Fraternity. But this will more fully appear in due time." What this mysterious utterance alludes to I cannot suggest. Possibly the Masons among the English merchants at Bordeaux or Paris or elsewhere had been making investigations of which we know nothing. In 1738 the statement reappears, but it is now expanded to include the knightly orders, and the claims thus made have been the source of an entire literature of their own. But the allusion of 1723, if there ever was any, is now lost.

The *Fellow Craft's Song* is by our Brother Charles De la Faye, who can be identified as a member of the Lodge at the Horn, who joined the *Philo Musicae et Architecturae Societas* on 23rd December, 1725. Compared with the two efforts that precede it, this is almost poetry. The last verse runs:

Then in our Songs be justice done
  To those who have enriched the Art
From Jabal down to Burlington,
  And let each Brother bear a Part.

This suggests that the writer had in his mind the original legend of the Old Charges rather than Anderson's History. Burlington is referred to in a footnote at the end of the History as the best British architect of the time.

The *Enter'd Prentice Song* had already appeared in Read's *Weekly Journal* for December 1st, 1722, under the title *The Freemason's Health.* The metre was used by Charles Cotton in *The Angler's Ballad*, written in or before the reign of James II. (*Misc. Lat.*, N.S. I., 110). The tune appears to have been well known (*vide A.Q.C.* iv., 91), and Birkhead was a stage singer, and is likely enough, therefore, to have fitted words of his own to a familiar melody.

In 1738 only one part of the *Master's Song* is printed, and the *Warden's Song* is cut down to one verse, in which Caernavon's name is substituted, all allusion to Wharton in the heading being studiously suppressed. De la Faye's Song is reproduced, but Anderson in the calmest way substitutes Adam for Jabal and Caernavon, who does not appear to have been an architect, but was the then Grand Master, for Burlington. So also in the *Enter'd Prentice Song* the ladies' verse is now added in as number 6 without any sort of comment. Truly no man's text was safe in the Doctor's hands.

The music is printed from specially prepared type, and not from engraved plates.

From the article on Music Printing in Grove's *Dictionary* it will be found that this method was introduced in 1641, and that two printers named Heptinstall

and Pearson improved the process in 1690 and 1699, Pearson being still the leading music printer at the time of the *Constitutions* being in the press. It was not till 1728 that printing from blocks or plates came in. In the 1738 edition there is no music.

The notice as to the additional music and the license to publish, which occupy the last page of the work itself, have already been referred to. The booksellers' announcements on the last page of all have no particular connection with the matter; the booksellers were John Senex and John Hooke, of whom the former was Senior Warden of Lodge No. XV. of the Approbation, and was Dalkeith's Junior Grand Warden, while the latter may possibly be the Mr. John Hook (without the e) who was Junior Warden of the Lodge at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand in 1725.

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Ever since September, 1721, it had been known that Anderson was at work on a new History of the Order which it was proposed to print and publish with the approval of the Grand Lodge. It is easy to understand that the admirers of the Traditional History as it stood in the Old Charges would be likely to take alarm at such modernisings. This may be the genesis of the *Roberts Pamphlet* which was issued with a preface in 1722, after having appeared serially in the *Postman and the Historical Account* (items 27 and 28 in Bro. Dring's *English Masonic Literature before 1751*). Others might be led to revise the historical portion of the old texts while still keeping them in manuscript, and this may possibly be the genesis of the texts of the Spencer Family in the form that we have them to-day. Eugenius Philalethes wrote a history of his own in this same year, 1722, and he may have been prompted by the knowledge that Anderson was engaged on the same task. It forms the preface to *Long Livers*, and is dedicated to the Grand Master, etc.; it is more than a mere history, as it is rather a rhapsody on the Craft and its supposed Rosicrucian affinities into which historical matter is introduced. But to Anderson's work when actually published there was but one rejoinder. That was the "Observations and Critical Remarks on the new Constitutions of the Freemasons (etc.)" which was included in the *Briscoe Pamphlet*, which forms the first *Bain Reprint*. This did not, however, appear till late in 1724. It deals solely with the History. The writer takes it for granted that the note on Hiram is the work of Desaguliers, and he is very scornful of Anderson's tentative claims that Charles II. and William III. were Masons, claims he was to assert categorically in 1738. But the criticism generally cannot be said to be very profound.

But except for this, Anderson's work seems not to have been directly noticed at the time, either by way of praise or censure. The Craft in general was attacked freely, and many so-called exposures were published. Verus Commodus obviously is referring to the History when he speaks of two unhappy busy persons who have obtruded their idle notions, etc. (*vide* Gould iii., 485). But this is only a passage in an attack directed against the Order generally. The work, in fact, might almost be said to have attracted no notice.

Yet it would be difficult to estimate its influence on the history of the Craft. Notwithstanding the way in which Grand Lodge received the work after its publication, it took its place as the official manual, so that the fact that it was not official but essentially a private affair was entirely lost sight of. It was taken by the Grand Lodge of Ireland as the model for their *Book of Constitutions* in 1730. It was re-printed verbatim for use in America by Franklin in 1734. It was pirated in London and later in Dublin by Smith in 1735. And its author's reputation was great enough to carry off the History he wrote for his second edition of 1738, and lead the Craft for a century and a half to accept it and re-print it as a serious contribution to the subject. To-day we value the Doctor's labours less highly, but the *Constitutions* of 1723 is nevertheless one of the most important records of the Craft. That this paper is read in the bicentenary

year of the work is a coincidence that was unpremeditated. But it is of more importance to the Craft that the year will not pass without the publication in this country of a complete and absolute facsimile, the introduction to which is to consist mainly of the material here collected.

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A vote of thanks to Bro. Lionel Vibert for his valuable paper was unanimously passed, on the proposition of Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, seconded by Bro. W. B. Hextall.

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Bro. R. H. BAXTER said:—

Attempts have been made previously to describe the first edition of our Book of Constitutions notably by our late Bro. Hughan in his series of articles in the "Freemason" and in his introduction to Vol. ii. of "Kenning's Archæological Library," but nothing so elaborate as Bro. Vibert's exposition has hitherto been accomplished. We are consequently much indebted to the author of our present paper for his patient and painstaking labours.

I cannot help regretting that our old friend, and my own fellow-countryman, the Rev. James Anderson, M.A., should have come out in such a poor light, but I know there is another side to the picture, and hope that on a still further examination extenuating circumstances may be found for his inconsistencies and that his character may be re-established. It is hardly consistent with the nature of his sacred calling that a Presbyterian divine should be capable of direct mendacity. Other commentators will probably deal with this phase of the paper now before us for discussion.

I have always been interested in the meaning of Old Regulation XIII., and cannot help thinking that there is something behind it not quite plain. Our worthy Secretary, Bro. Songhurst, has carefully reproduced for our instruction and information the earliest Minutes of the Grand Lodge, and from this reprint we have the proceedings recorded from the 24th June, 1723, to a period long overlapping the date of the abrogation of the Regulation, 24th November, 1725, the significant fact being that during the whole of that period no mention is ever made of a degree having been worked. And it must be remembered that the terms of the repeal of the Regulation did not deprive Grand Lodge itself of the privilege of making Masters (whatever that may mean), but merely gave permission to Private Lodges to do so.

I am not at present prepared to offer any suggestion on the real solution on this somewhat difficult problem, but may on another occasion elaborate a theory of my own. Meanwhile I shall be glad to hear what our lecturer, or any other investigator, has to say on the subject.

My present and pleasant duty is to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Vibert for the treat he has afforded us this evening.

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Bro. W. B. HEXTALL *writes*:—

Bro. Vibert's full analysis of the 1723 Book of *Constitutions* leaves nothing to be desired so far as that issue is concerned, and will be of much assistance to students in future.

I cannot, however, refrain from thinking he has borne somewhat severely upon Anderson, the author or compiler, and that such a phrase as 'constitutionally incapable of copying even his own text correctly'—if meant as a general criticism—was hardly deserved by one who was certainly industrious, if not at all times remarkable for ingenuousness. It is, perhaps, not wholly beside the point to recall the fact that if we had not Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 and 1738, we should have had no narrative at all of the Masonry which

dated from 1717; and though Anderson, as a man and as a writer, is no doubt open to imputation of self-seeking and inaccuracy, he and his work must be regarded as anything rather than negligible. As our late Bro. W. J. Hughan more than once pointed out, if it were not for Anderson we should have practically nothing to go upon; and so we are bound to accept his 1723 and 1738 *Constitutions* for what they are worth.

Dr. George Oliver, in his *Revelations of a Square*, 1855, page 22, after noticing an oration by Desaguliers in 1721, said to have been printed "and distributed plentifully both in the metropolis and the provinces," goes on: "And Bro. Anderson published a well-written pamphet on the rise and progress of the Order, and its application to the practical sciences"; giving in a footnote its title, "On the Rise and Progress of Freemasonry." Bro. E. H. Dring says of the Anderson pamphlet, which he dates *circa* 1725: "I have been unable to trace it" (*A.Q.C.* xxv., 383), but it seems difficult to believe that Oliver's text would have been so circumstantial unless he possessed some ground for his assertion; and if Anderson had indeed written and printed concerning the Craft before his first appearance at Grand Lodge, which Bro. Vibert tentatively puts as 29th September, 1721, a more or less tangible reason might exist for his following the preliminary effort by his notable compilation of 1723, whether the latter was undertaken upon his own motion or by official request. And the possibility that Anderson had attended and become known in Grand Lodge earlier than 1721 may not be completely ignored.

One or two minor points may be mentioned. Bro. Vibert regards the word 'Annual' as important in Anderson's phrase, "without the Consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge." In the 1738 *Constitutions* the wording became altered to "without the Consent first obtain'd of the Grand Lodge," and omitted 'Annual.'

Without reference to any date for the R.A., it seems not unreasonable that the expressions 'Royal Art' and 'well built Arch,' which Anderson used, may have been united and adapted by those seeking a distinctive name for their rite.

Bro. Vibert questions the story of Queen Elizabeth and the ordered raid upon a Lodge at York: in connexion with this may be noted statements made in 1861 by the Dep.Pr.G.M. of an English Province, quoted in *Misc. Lat.* II., 58.

I do no more than refer to Anderson's reiterated insistence upon secrecy, as cited in the paper, and to assertions of his holding office with the Operative Freemasons, which will be found in *A.Q.C.* xxiii., 28-29. Saying nothing as to the latter, I think Bro. Vibert may have dismissed the possible significance of the first-named a little too lightly.

With gratitude not devoid of hope for future favours, I trust Bro. Vibert will complete the work by extending his review of Anderson's *Constitutions* to the editions, not only of 1738, but also to those of 1756, 1767, and 1784.

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Bro. W. J. Songhurst said:—

I am in agreement with Bro. Vibert in most of the opinions he has formed in regard to the Reverend James Anderson and his work. I believe that he was a man of very small means who tried to augment his income by his pen, and probably was not very successful in that. The biggest book which he published—*Royal Genealogies* (1732)—runs to over 800 folio pages, but, as Bro. Vibert has pointed out, it is mainly a compilation from Hubner and Prideaux. A list of about 450 Subscribers' names might indicate that it had a good sale, but Anderson is careful to say that they are "Subscribers to, or Encouragers of this Work," and after the book had struggled on the market for four years the 'remainder' copies were furnished with a new preface and a new table of "Addenda and Corrigenda," and issued as a Second Edition. The list of names includes those of some well known Masons in London, and we may note also the Rev. David Anderson, S.T.P., of Aberdeen, and James Anderson, Esq., Writer to the Signet.

Bro. Vibert suggests that as Anderson was familiar with the "Scots Masonic Terminology" it is probable that he had joined the Craft at Aberdeen, where as we know he took his degree of M.A., but the terminology appears to be that of the Operative Craft which might have been learned by him without Masonic membership; and if such membership were really needed we have the knowledge that Dr. Desaguliers was in Scotland visiting Lodges in 1721 and 1722, and it is quite as likely that he brought the unaccustomed words to London. I am more inclined to think that Anderson was admitted in a London Lodge, but in either case he appears to have been quite unknown in Masonry here until he made his request to be allowed to print the Book of Constitutions, and it is almost certain that he had no personal knowledge of the doings of Grand Lodge until perhaps as late as 1721, when he may have been a Warden of a Lodge. Anderson was certainly not a particularly modest man, and it is therefore somewhat remarkable that not only does his name not appear on the title-page of the Book, but it does not appear anywhere except on the very last page before the Songs, where among about sixty signatories we find "James Anderson A.M. The Author of this Book." One might almost suspect that his name was intentionally suppressed by Desaguliers or some one else who had the supervision of the printing. My sympathy for Anderson was considerably lessened when I discovered that he had tampered with the Minute Book of Grand Lodge which apparently had been entrusted to him for the purpose of extracting information for the second edition of the *Constitutions*.

Bro. Vibert recognises a Tyler for Grand Lodge in "Bro. Clinch who, according to the History, was to clear the way in G.M. Richmond's procession of 24th June 1724." Whether this was an invention by Anderson is not certain, but no such procession is recorded in the Minutes of Grand Lodge, and his description seems to have been transferred bodily from the actual report of January, 1730, under the Grand Mastership of Lord Kingston, the brother then appointed to "clear the way" being Lynch, not Clinch. Anderson is altogether so unreliable that I consider we are justified in declining to accept any statement he makes unless independent evidence can be produced in support.

I am in some doubt about the possession by the original Grand Lodge of any copies of the *Old Charges*. Bro. Vibert mentions the copy produced by George Payne in 1721, and says that it was still in the archives in 1728. But what did Grand Lodge possess in 1721, and where was it housed? It did not possess even a Minute Book until 1723, and it had no permanent home until 1775. I suggest that the MS. produced by Payne in 1721 was his personal property, perhaps lent to Anderson when he was manufacturing his "History," and perhaps returned to Payne when it was completed. I do not think that the Masons of the day had any particular knowledge of these MSS. Occasionally when one appeared it was regarded as something curious, and copies were made for those interested in the subject. William Cowper, the first Secretary of Grand Lodge in 1723, may perchance have seen Payne's MS. in 1721, but it was not until 1728 that he had a copy made for himself by William Reid, the then Secretary; this copy, known as the *Woodford MS.*, being now in the Q.C. Library. I think it is more likely that he borrowed it from Payne for the purpose of securing a copy, than that he took it from the Archives of Grand Lodge.

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Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.D., Pres.B.G.P., *writes*:—

While it is with great regret that I find myself prevented by another Masonic engagement—and one of importance—from being present to listen to the delivery of Bro. Vibert's paper, I have read with great and sincere appreciation an advance proof. I am sure that everyone interested in the early history of English Organised Freemasonry will express very deep thanks to Bro. Vibert for the infinite pains he has taken in dealing with a very intricate subject. On one point which up to now has succeeded in baffling all investigation, I think that at length an always doubtful matter can be made clear. Bro. Vibert notes

that there is no record in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, of the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Divinty upon James Anderson, and this absence of evidence has been treated by many as positive testimony that the degree was self-conferred. This I have never been able to bring myself to believe, because of the manifest ease with which such an impudent assumption could have been detected when, as Bro. Vibert notes, Anderson presented a copy of the "Royal Genealogies" to the Marischal College, inscribed in his own hand as given by "Jacobus Anderson, D.D." There is the further fact noted by Bro. Vibert that, in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 24th June, 1731, is mention of "Dr. Anderson," a style he thenceforward always bore; and I have long been of opinion that, as Bro. Vibert now states, it is evident he obtained the degree in 1731 or just previously. But I have now discovered that he obtained it, not "from somewhere," as Bro. Vibert states, but from the University of Aberdeen, and only a few weeks before the 24th June, 1731. The "Daily Courant," a London newspaper, on Monday, May 17th, 1731, made the following announcement:—"We hear from Aberdeen, that that University has lately conferr'd a Doctor's Degree in Divinity on Mr. James Anderson, Swallow-street, a gentleman well known for his extensive Learning." This was precisely repeated, except as to the Christian name James, in "Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer" of the following Saturday; and, if objection should be taken to the fact that the word "lately" used in the announcement renders it vague, I would note that, not only in the cases of items of information not of necessity requiring exact dating it was the word to be used in this connection, seeing that some weeks in those times elapsed between an occurrrence at Aberdeen and any announcement concerning it being made in London; but there is the circumstance that it was the word used at that period in connection with events happening very much nearer to London than the extreme north of Scotland. In the "Universal Spectator" of the same day that "Read" published the Anderson announcement, the word "lately" was used just in the same way concerning an incident at Oxford. I think this should suffice to settle the long-existing dispute as to the Doctorate of Dr. Anderson.

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Bro. GORDON HILLS *writes*:—

I must confess that whilst listening to Bro. Vibert's most interesting paper, and mentally endorsing so much that he says about our Bro. Dr. Anderson, I could not help feeling that justice was hardly done to that worthy Mason of old days. I was, therefore, glad when Bro. Hextall discharged the fraternal office of putting in a few words of defence. The information about the degree of D.D. seems to shift that doubtful point to a clear statement of fact and disarms criticism which has been founded on the supposed assumption of the degree. The point, however, that I am writing about is one which, as Bro. Vibert did not actually read the reference to it in Lodge, I did not then raise. I do think that it is an entirely unfounded and unfair inference to say that Anderson "was not, in fact, what we should call a well-read man" because he included in his history of the Craft the mention of Cain as the first builder, which Bro. Vibert thinks he would not have done if he had been aware of Abraham Cowley's spiteful little comment on the connection of Cain with building. Considering the position Cowley's writings hold it is hardly likely that Anderson did not know his works, but he would have been very foolish to have advertised that writer's whimsical aversion to builders. According to his programme, it seems to me, that Anderson was bound to recognise that the V.S.L. records that Cain was the first builder of a city. Poor Dr. Anderson is freely blamed for making the facts fit his theories in the eighteenth century, but it is rather hard that his apparent honesty in admitting Cain as an early practitioner of the Craft should be quoted against him. The reference to Abraham Cowley would seem to show clearly that *he* was not a Mason, or he would not have so disparaged the craft of building. Dr. Cowley—his

doctorate being M.D., Oxon.,—was one of the original members of the Royal Society, and one wonders whether this passage, to which Bro. Vibert has drawn our attention, was really intended to be a sly dig at some of his colleagues, who, we know, were early members of the Speculative Craft.

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Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES *writes*:—

It is with much regret that I find I am unable to be present this evening and hear Bro. Vibert read the paper, which I have already perused in proof with very great interest. It would ill become me, as quite a young student in Masonry, to criticise the mature opinions of so eminent a Masonic scholar as Bro. Vibert. There are, however, one or two facts in relation to the 1723 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and its author, James Anderson, that I should like to comment upon. Bro. Vibert considers "that there can be no doubt at all that the 1723 *Constitutions* were a private venture and Anderson's own property," and brings forward considerable evidence in support of this view. There is, however, one line of evidence upon which he has not dwelt, and, while it might be conclusive in his favour, on the other hand it might be indefinite, or, indeed, definitely against his theory. Now at common law there was the right which an author was supposed to have in his own original literary compositions, so that no other person could, without his leave, publish or make profit out of the sale of any copies. This right is known as copyright, and has been defined as "the sole and exclusive right of multiplying copies of a book by printing or otherwise." This is a right that is not divisible, and it is important to keep this in mind. However, whatever inherent copyright might have been supposed to subsist by the common law was changed when the Statute, 8 Anne c. 19 (the first definite Copyright Act in England) was passed in 1709. It was passed, amongst other things, for the "encouragement of learned men to compose and write useful Books," and it provided "that the Author of any book or books already composed and not printed and published, or that shall hereafter be composed, and his assignee or assignees, shall have the sole liberty of printing and reprinting such book or books for the term of 14 years to commence from the day of first publishing the same *and no longer*." The Act then went on to impose penalties and forfeitures for offences against its provisions, and further enacted that "After the expiration of the said term of 14 years the sole right of printing or disposing of copies shall return to the Authors thereof, if they are then living, or their representatives, for another term of 14 years." To secure the benefit of this Act, and to maintain an action for these penalties, the conditions of the Statute must have been strictly complied with; that is, the work must have been entered at Stationers' Hall, and the necessary copies lodged for the several libraries entitled to receive copies. I have been unable to attend at Stationers' Hall to make any searches with regard to the 1723 *Constitutions*, and the Registrar has declined to deal with the matter through the post. However, I hope to be in London during March and I will see if I can find out anything then. Should no registration have taken place Bro. Vibert's theory might still hold good, because, as the author or his assignee could still maintain an action on the case for damages, or obtain an injunction against any person publishing such work without his permission, so Anderson or his assignee might not have bothered to enter the book, being satisfied with these remedies if required.

There is also a further point, in connection with the ownership of the 1723 *Constitutions*, which appears to me to be of interest, and has not been dealt with by Bro. Vibert. Besides the two editions of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1723 and 1738, James Anderson, so far as has at present been ascertained, was the author of eight pamphlets or books which were published during his lifetime, and also of two books which were published after his death. His first attempt as an author was in 1712, and the Sermon he then published was "printed by J.H. for J. Lawrence, at the Angel

in the Poultry." The next publication was a Sermon in 1715, and this was "printed for M. Lawrence, at the Angel in the Poultry." Between this date and 1720, a Mr. Richard Ford seems to have taken over the publishing business run by M. Lawrence. We know that Richard Ford published the Sermons printed in 1720, 1724, and 1737 and the Dissertation "Unity in Trinity" printed in 1733; and also was one of the sellers of "Royal Genealogies" published in 1732. We, therefore, may say that Anderson was conservative in his habits, and never deserted his original publishing firm. Bro. J. T. Thorp has also shown us that the woodcut tail-piece, at the end of the pamphlet, containing the Sermon published in 1724, is the same as that used on the title-page of the 1723 *Constitutions*, and we may infer from that, that William Hunter, who printed the *Constitutions*, was the printer of the 1724 pamphlet (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii., at p. 12). But, although Anderson employed the same printer for the *Book of Constitutions* as he employed for his own non-Masonic writings, yet we do not find his own Publisher taking any part in the sale of the first-named work, nor, indeed, in that of the second edition, published in 1738. What we do notice, however, is that the senior publisher, John Senex, is not only a Freemason, but also was, on the 24th June following the publication, appointed Junior Grand Warden by the Earl of Dalkeith, being the last of those Grand Officers who were not entitled to have the suffix "Esquire" after their names. Besides, at the time John Senex was appointed there were many Freemasons of good social standing who could have been appointed to that Office. From these facts I think we must come to the conclusion, that the high honour conferred upon the senior publisher of the 1723 *Constitutions* had something to do with that event. What exactly happened we do not at present know, and may never know, but it may have been that Senex financed the production, or in some other way assisted to an extent that Anderson's own publisher, Richard Ford, whose name does not appear on any of the Grand Lodges MS. Lists of Members for 1723, 1725, or 1730, could not do. It is also interesting to note that Anderson gets the fact that he is "Author of the Book of Constitutions" on to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, at their Quarterly Communication on 24th June, 1731, and that the second edition appeared shortly after fourteen years had elapsed from the date of the first. If Anderson had disposed of the copyright in the 1723 edition, the Act of 1709 would return the right to him as from 1737. But as the result of a search at Stationers' Hall might reduce these or other theories either to facts or fictions, I leave the matter and proceed to another point in the paper I want to touch on.

Bro. Vibert has dealt briefly with the right of James Anderson to describe himself as a Doctor of Divinity, and states that he was mentioned in the Minutes of the Meeting of Grand Lodge for 24th June, 1731, as Dr. Anderson "and this was his style thenceforward." That is not quite accurate, because in the Minutes of the Meeting of Grand Lodge for 29th June, 1737, he is referred to as "James Anderson A.M.," and that description is applied to him in the Minutes of the only two other Meetings of Grand Lodge attended by James Anderson prior to his death. These were the Meetings held on the 25th January and the 6th April, 1738. Until the Minutes of the Meeting of 29th June, 1737, he had never been described in the Minutes as "James Anderson A.M." Several other descriptions had been used, but never that. Now why the sudden change? It is only when we examine the List of the Officers of Grand Lodge, inserted in the concluding pages of the First Minute Book of Grand Lodge proceedings, that we get the clue to the puzzle. For the year 1722, under the heading Deputy Grand Masters and Grand Wardens, and against the word "Wardens," we find the name of Mr. William Hawkins, and then, in Anderson's own handwriting, the words, "who demitted and then James Anderson A:M. was chosen in his place." This is the only other place I have succeeded in finding where Anderson's name appears in Grand Lodge records as "James Anderson A.M." We are told by Bro. Songhurst, in his Introduction to vol. x. of *Q.C.A.*, that the Minutes of Grand Lodge from 19th December, 1727, up to and including that of the 13th April, 1737, are in the handwriting

of William Reid, who was Grand Secretary from 1727 to 1734. Thereafter a new scribe took the place of Bro. Reid, and I have no doubt that this new scribe, when entering up the Minutes of the Meeting of 29th June, 1737, checked the statement that Anderson was a former Grand Warden, by looking it up in the List of Grand Officers in the first volume of Minutes, and made the entry in accordance with the description of Anderson he found there. If this deduction is accepted, we know the alterations of the Minute Book by James Anderson were made before that Meeting. How it was that the alterations came to be made, and when they were made, are matters which would take a considerable space fully to deal with, and I feel I have already imposed sufficiently upon your time. That the true facts must have been known to Dr. Desaguliers is very evident. He was Deputy Grand Master during the crucial year, and was constantly attending Grand Lodge Meetings. It is true he was not at all the Meetings Anderson attended between 1730 and 1738, but he was at a great many, and even when absent we find him attending the following one, when the Minutes of the previous Meeting are recorded as having been read. The facts must also have been known to many others attending Grand Lodge.

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Bro. H. POOLE *writes*:—

I have three comments to make on Bro. Vibert's most interesting paper, all with reference to the *Old Charges*.

(*a*.) It is, as Bro. Vibert implies, a litle odd that, if Anderson used the Roberts print at all, he used it so little. But I do not agree that he used it at all. There can be no question whatever of the *original* meaning of the Roberts passage, especially if we remember the very special use made of the word 'allowed' in most MSS. (though not in the Roberts) as applied to Masons. And if we make the very simple addition of 'for' or 'to' after 'but,' the passage falls into line with all the rest—"You shall not make any Mould, Square, or Rule . . . but *for* such as are allowed by the Fraternity." The closest parallel among the other MSS. is in the Harris No. 1—"You shall not make any Mold, Square, or Rule for any that is but a Lewis, a Lewis is such an one as hath served an Apprentiship to a Mason but is not admitted afterwards according to this manner and Custom of Making Masons." One would not, of course, expect Anderson to adopt any such critical attitude towards his texts as this; but he must have been acquainted with enough versions, especially if he knew the Harris, to know what the purpose of the charge was; and I prefer to believe that he created the fifth charge out of his own head.

(*b*.) I think there is something to be said for the view that Anderson was to some extent in competition with the printed versions of the *Old Charges*; but I think Bro. Vibert goes too far when he suggests that the allegations as to the burning of MSS. in 1720 may have been introduced with the intention of discrediting the old versions; and I cannot agree with him that they were "not rituals but versions of the *Old Charges*." There is, perhaps, in the scarcity of 'south-country' versions some evidence for the possiblity of sytematic destruction; but we have more positive evidence for the destruction of rituals, though at no particular date; while we also know that at least three such MSS. must have fallen into 'strange hands,' as they were printed in 1723, 1724, and 1730. As to the destruction—the Haughfoot Minute, of 1702, was undoubtedly of an esoteric character; and the torn-out page which precedes the existing fragment strongly suggests that the earlier portion was removed for that reason. Again, the Harris No. 2 MS., though very close indeed to the Harris No. 1, can be shown not to have been a copy of it; and I strongly suspect that its curiously abrupt termination is due to the fact that its original (which was almost certainly a little earlier than the Harris No. 1) had had its rather esoteric conclusion torn off.

(*c*.) I make the suggestion with some fear and trembling, that a possible source of material has been overlooked in the Krause MS. I am perfectly aware

that this MS. is almost universally regarded as spurious; but I am not certain that the last word has yet been said on that subject. If it *is* spurious, then it is simply an abstract of parts of Anderson, with which parts of at least two versions of the *Old Charges* have been collated. But there is a possibility that it is based on a hitherto unidentified version, though certainly *not* of the form implied (but not specifically stated) in its introduction: and I will mention one small detail which rather points to this.

At the 'first Grand Lodge,' held at York, Edwin is apparently represented as addressing the assembled Masons—"Behold, now, therefore, in the pious Prince Edwin your *protector* . . . "—a phrase without any parallel among the orthodox versions of the *Old Charges*. But in the so-called Hargrove (1818) we find "yet did the Craft a great *Protector* find, in the Royal EDWIN . . ." Hargrove obtained his material from Bro. Blanchard, late Grand Sec., and only surviving member, of the Grand Lodge of all England, at York; and Blanchard is believed to have had in his possession all the books and documents of the Grand Lodge. But no MS. exactly agreeing with the Hargrove extract is among the property which passed into the possession of Lodge No. 235 (see Hughan, *Old Charges* (1895), p. 149). The fact that both Hargrove and Krause claim authority from York, especially if we remember that there is a *missing* York MS., give this slight coincidence a certain significance which several others perhaps do not possess.

Additional evidence that Anderson had some such York MS. among his sources may perhaps be afforded by the following passage which he gives as a quotation:—

> "That tho' the antient Records of the Brotherhood in England, were most of them destroy'd or lost in the Wars with the Danes . . ." 1738, p. 63—I cannot quote from 1723;

which has more than a passing likeness to the Hargrove:—

> "And though the ancient records of the Brotherhood were manye of them destroyed or lost . . .";

but, of course, Hargrove, or his source, may have incorporated the passage in his abstract, copying it from Anderson.

My own view at present is that the Krause MS. is genuinely *based on* a York MS. which was prepared by Blanchard or some other person out of the material available, *including* Anderson; and which, perhaps as being private property, was not handed over to Lodge No. 236: but the possibility remains that it preceded Anderson; and, if so, it was without any doubt at all one of his principal sources.

It is of considerable interest to notice, in this connection, that the name Ninus for our old friend who brought Masonry into France might have been borrowed by Anderson from either the Aberdeen MS. or the Krause MS., and occurs in no others that we know.

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Bro. F. J. W. CROWE *writes*:—

I have read with much interest Bro. Vibert's valuable paper on the first *Book of Constitutions*. In his last paragraph he speaks of the need of a reproduction. I am in possession of a very beautiful and perfect facsimile, even to the binding, published at "Wiesbaden. Druck und Verlag von Carl Ritter. 1900." An extra title-page has the above at the foot, and this page is headed "NEUAUSGABEN UND UEBERSETZUNGEN AELTERER FREIMAURERISCHER WERKE." Then there is a copy of what is apparently the seal (judging from the inscription around the edge) of "□ PLATO ZUR BESTANDIGEN EINIGKEIT IN WIESBADEN." The device shows a Sun shedding rays upon a bee-hive surrounded with bees, on a curved

concave base line, beneath which are the Square and Compasses, Trowel, and Gavel in a group. Below this Seal is "I BAND. DAS CONSTITUTIONENBUCH VON 1723."

The book was given to me years ago by a friend in Copenhagen, and is the only copy I have seen. I wrote twice to Wiesbaden hoping to get a second copy which I could present to our Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library, but I could get no reply.[1]

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Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett *writes*:—

Our thanks are most certainly due to Bro. Vibert for this admirable commentary on the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*. The time and patience required to bring such a task to so successful an ending might well have discouraged any but an enthusiast in the search for Truth such as we know our I.P.M. to be. But I believe that the labour has been one of love, and, although his condemnation of Dr. Anderson's shortcomings is unqualified in its severity, yet we know that Bro. Vibert will rejoice in the assurance that the result of his paper is greatly to enhance the real value of the Doctor's work. Now, under Bro. Vibert's guidance, it should be easy for the student to avoid the traps and pitfalls for the unwary which undoubtedly lurk within the pages of the first *Book of Constitutions*. While forming his estimate of what I have called the 'real value' of the contents of the book the author of this interesting paper has rightly made full use of those powers of critical analysis, of which he is so evidently the master, and the result is to confirm the unfavourable opinion already generally entertained of Dr. Anderson as a historian and literary man. Such an attitude was necessary if the 1723 *Constitutions* is to retain to any extent or in any sense its place as an authoritative record of our Masonic past. But it is permissible to doubt whether James Anderson the man deserved all the hard things which have been said of him.

Bro. Vibert takes the view that the statements made by Anderson in 1738 concerning the events of the years 1722 and 1723 are 'very far from corresponding to the ascertained facts.' Is it quite *certain* that this view is a just one? Anderson implies that there were two parties in opposition. The *London Journal* (June 16th, 1722) tells how a 'select Body' waited upon Viscount Townshend and why they did so. The *Daily Post* (June 20th) warns those who do not attend on June 25th that they 'will be look'd upon as false brothers.' See also Samber's account of the meeting on June 25th, 1722, and the actual G.L. Minutes of the meeting on June 24th, 1723. Again, Anderson says 'the better sort . . . delay'd to prepare the Feast' hoping to keep 'Grand Master Montagu' for another year. He does not say that the Feast was postponed, but that the *preparations* were 'delay'd,' *i.e.*, checked, and the application to the Secretary of State bears this out. Stukeley's testimony that he and three noblemen met at the Fountain Tavern on May 25th 'to consider of Feast on St. John's' does not affect Anderson's statement that the 'preparations' were 'delay'd.' Anderson asserts that on June 24th (Sunday) Wharton got 'a number of others . . . no Grand Officers' to meet him at Stationers' Hall, and none of the other accounts say anything to prevent us accepting the assertion as true. Anderson is not referring to the regular Feast (which took place on the 25th) but to a clandestine and irregular meeting of Wharton and his party, when a plan of attack for the following day was drawn up which (as it happened) proved successful.[1] Anderson's fault is not a blunder

[1] Since this was written, Bro. Crowe has been able to procure another copy of this Wiesbaden Reprint, and has very kindly presented it to the Q.C. Library.—W.J.S.

[2] In his able review of the *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, by Bro. W. H. Rylands (*A.Q.C.* xxv., 165) Bro. Wonnacott tells of a series of notes preserved in the archives. These notes are headed 1721 and onwards, but are really late copies of an unknown original and, therefore, not altogether reliable evidence, but (for what they are worth) they tend to confirm the view that there *was* a meeting other than the Feast on the 25th, since they agree with Anderson as to the date—the 24th—and differ from him by naming the Merchant Taylors' Hall as the place where it was held.

as to the date of the Feast but the suppression of all mention of the Feast on June 25th. And the reason for this suppression is seen in his next paragraph, namely, that in the opinion of one party, those he styled 'the better sort,' the proceedings on the 24th vitiated the proceedings on the 25th, so that the validity of the appointments made on the latter day was a matter of doubt. This state of uncertainty continued 'till worthy Brother Montagu heal'd the Breach of Harmony' in the manner described, Wharton promising 'to be True and Faithful.' It is true that one of the newspaper paragraphs speaks of Wharton's election on the 25th as *unanimous*, and this, for what it is worth, is against the theory of a split, but alone it is not enough to shake it.

The most serious charge against Anderson is that he did deliberately *and dishonestly* make two alterations in the G.L. Records. There are certain facts, which are clearly set out by Bro. Songhurst in *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., and amongst these is the practical certainty that it was Anderson who made one of the alterations—the *addition* of certain words at one place—and, therefore, it is reasonable to presume that he also made the other—the *deletion* of certain words at another place. Bro. Vibert explains these facts on the assumption that Anderson acted dishonestly, but I propose to attempt an explanation on the assumption that he had authority and permission to make the changes in question.

The List of Grand Officers in the first G.L. Minute Book is in the handwriting of William Reid, who was appointed Grand Secretary on December 27th, 1727, for William Cowper, the first G.Sec., himself wrote nothing in the G.L. Books. To the name of Mr. William Hawkins as a G. Warden in 1722 has been added in Anderson's writing 'who demitted and then James Anderson A.M. was chosen in his place.' The first Minutes recorded are those of June 24th, 1723, and these are also written by Reid. The original entry concerning Anderson was:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Joshua Timson ... ... ... ... ...<br>The Reverend Mr. James Anderson who officiated<br>for Mr. William Hawkins ... ... ... | G: Wardens |

But the words 'who officiated for Mr. William Hawkins' have been erased with a knife. The words removed are not legible in the original in its present state, but are easily read in the photograph. The fact, however, that an erasure has been made is plainly visible and shown by the vacant line.

One of the rival parties declined to recognize as regular any appointment made on June 25th, 1722, unless it was ratified on January 17th, 1723. Accordingly Wharton, Desaguliers, and Timson were so confirmed in their respective offices. But Hawkins, whether present or not, on January 17th, 1723, 'demitted as always out of Town,' that is he was not continued in *his* office (J.W.), and so Anderson was chosen instead. The 'confirmation' was to 'heal' a 'Breach in Harmony,' that is to reconcile opposing factions, and this done everything was regular as from June 25th, 1723. Hawkins is duly recorded as one of Wharton's Wardens in 1722, in the official List of G.O., and the words added subsequently are a simple statement of fact and mean—'who later (January, 1723) demitted and THEN (January, 1723) Anderson was chosen in his place.' If Anderson, writing of April 25th, 1723, describes himself as 'G.Warden Anderson' it was his true style at that time. Bro. Vibert does not believe that there was any meeting of G.L. on April 25th, 1723, but I see no reason to doubt it, or that Wharton then proposed the Earl of Dalkeith as his successor, or that the Earl was then 'approved' and 'saluted as G.M. Elect,' because we know that Wharton and Dalkeith had been on sufficiently good terms to visit Dr. Stukeley's Lodge at the Fountain on the same evening, November 3rd, 1722 (*A.Q.C.* vi., 130). Something—very likely the correspondence which had been going on unknown to him—led Wharton to decline to 'name his Successor' at the meeting on June 24th, 1723, and to refer the 'Nomination' to G.L. itself.

In Bro. Vibert's opinion the G.L. Minutes of the meeting on June 24th, 1723, as originally entered prove that William Hawkins was still a Grand

Warden. What the entry really implies is, however, something quite different, namely, that Cowper, the newly-appointed Grand Secretary, or whoever took the rough notes, believed that Hawkins was still J.G.W. and Anderson simply acting as his Deputy. We do not know that Cowper was present on January 17th, or on April 25th (if there was a meeting then). According to the view now proposed the six words 'who officiated for Mr. William Hawkins' are a misrepresentation of fact, doubtless quite unintentional. Anderson was not again present in G.L. until August 28th, 1730, and the custom of reading the Minutes of the previous meeting did not begin until May 20th, 1725, so that there was nothing to draw attention to the error during Anderson's absence.

The G.L. Minutes for August 28th, 1730, show:—

> The Reverend Mr. James Anderson ... } G:W pro tempore
> Mr. Joseph Highmore ... ... ... }

and when these were read at the meeting on December 15th, 1730, it happened that Anderson was again absent. His next attendance was on June 24th, 1731, when he is entered as:—

> Dr. James Anderson Author of the Book of Constitutions.

Now Anderson was present at the following meeting held on December 3rd, 1731, and, therefore, heard the Minutes of June 24th read. At this meeting (December 3rd) he is entered for the first time as

> Dr. James Anderson ... ... ... } formerly G. Wardens.
> Mr. Joseph Highmore ... ... ... }

He was present in G.L. at eleven subsequent meetings.[1] At one of these he was S.G.W., at another he was J.G.W., and at eight of the remaining nine his rank as formerly or late G. Warden is recorded. At one only (December 27th, 1736) is it *not* mentioned, and at the following meeting (April 13th, 1737) when the entry was read he was not present. He died May 28th, 1739.

Now when, on December 3rd, 1731, Anderson heard the Minutes of the previous meeting (June 24th) read and found that his rank as a former Grand Warden was being overlooked, would he of all men have been likely to let it pass in silence? Assuredly not! If he did not call attention to it publicly he would certainly have enquired into the matter, have found the incorrect statement under date June 24th, 1723, and the failure to record his appointment when Hawkins 'demitted,' both of them in the *first* G.L. Book no longer in use. He would ask for and obtain official permission to have the offending passages amended, and, as it appears, he made sure that it was done by doing it himself. Erasure with a knife and the unattested addition of words to a record are not the official methods of amendment, and the absence of any note on the matter precludes the idea that it was carried out officially, but if it happened as is now suggested there is no ground for the imputation of dishonesty. As we have seen on the *only* other occasion when the omission was repeated, the circumstances were such as to prevent it coming to his knowledge.

If Anderson's addition of the words 'who demitted, etc.,' was done *dishonestly* is it possible to explain why he used his own characteristic handwriting, without the least attempt at any disguise, to proclaim the name of the

[1] See *Q.C.A.*, vol. x.:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1730 | Aug. 28. | The Reverend Mr. James Anderson G:W pro tempore |
| 1731 | Jun. 24. | Dr. James Anderson Author of the Book of Constitutions |
| ,, | Dec. 3. | Dr. James Anderson formerly G. Warden(s) |
| 1732 | Jun. 8. | The Reverend Dr. James Anderson formerly G Warden(s) |
| ,, | Nov. 21. | James Anderson DD. for George Rook Esq G Warden(s) |
| 1733 | May 29. | The Reverend Dr. James Anderson formerly G Warden(s) |
| 1735 | Feb. 24 | The Reverend Dr. Anderson formerly G Warden(s) |
| ,, | Mar. 31. | Dr. James Anderson late G Warden |
| ,, | Dec. 11. | The Reverend Dr. James Anderson formerly G.W. |
| 1736 | Apr. 6. | Dr. James Anderson late G.W. |
| ,, | Dec. 27. | The Reverend Dr. James Anderson |
| 1737 | Jun. 29. | James Anderson A:M as J:G:W. |
| 1738 | Jan. 25. | James Anderson A:M. L:G:W. |
| ,, | Apr. 6. | James Anderson A:M. L:J:G:W. as J:G:W. |

culprit to the first person who should chance to consult the List, and to lead to his detection as the perpetrator of the erasure with a knife, which must have been visible whenever the Minutes were opened at the record concerned, and which must have been equally dishonest? And is it possible to explain why, on the assumption of dishonesty, it was left to Masonic students of a century-and-a-half and more later to make the first unfavourable comment?

Another point to notice is that, if the alterations were made dishonestly and the original entries correct, Dr. Anderson *never was a Grand Warden at all at any time.* In that case why do the G.L. Minutes nine times, from December 3rd, 1731, to April 6th, 1738, style him 'formerly' or 'late G. Warden'? The fact that he is accorded the rank from and not before the earlier of these dates encourages the belief that it was then or very shortly after that time that the two alterations were made.

The Frontispiece was finished at any time after June 25th, 1722, and, assuming that it contains actual portraits, it is Hawkins and not Anderson who is shown as one of the Wardens. The natural inference is that the plate was ready before January 17th, 1723, for up to that day Hawkins was J.G.W. in the opinion of the Brethren generally although as Anderson tells us *a section of the Brethren* required the confirmation of the appointments. The Approbation was signed, between November 25th and December 28th, 1722, by Wharton, Desaguliers, Timson, and Hawkins, with others. Bro. Vibert remarks:—

> "But according to Anderson, Wharton was not the recognized G.M. till January, Desaguliers was not his Deputy till January, and at that very meeting he himself superseded Hawkins as Warden, and his account implies that Hawkins was not present."

But what Anderson really tells us is that they were not recognized by *a section of the Brethren* who became reconciled through the tactful action of 'worthy Brother Montagu.' It is true that Anderson does not mention Desaguliers, but the G.L. Minutes (June 24th, 1723) make it fairly evident that his name had been for some time prominently before the Brethren, and the official List of Grand Officers in the first G.L. Minute Book gives him as Deputy to Wharton in 1722 as well as Deputy to Dalkeith in 1723.

Again in reference to date January 17th, 1723, Anderson (in 1738) tells us that:—

> "G. Warden Anderson produced the new Book of Constitutions now in Print, which was again approved, with the Addition of the Antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge."

Bro. Vibert asks us to believe that Anderson's meaning is that he produced his book in printed form, and was ordered to take it away and add to it the *Manner*, etc., and that, provided he did this, the book was approved. Bro. Vibert's own words on this point are as follows:—

> "in any case it (*i.e.*, the *Manner*, etc.) cannot have been ordered to be included on January 17th itself, as Anderson alleges. It is sufficiently clear why Anderson finds it necessary to make this assertion; it is the only one he can make that will be consistent with his tale about Wharton's irregular election, and his being recognized only on January 17th."

But Bro. Vibert's interpretation of Anderson's words is not the natural one, and I do not believe that it represents Anderson's meaning at all. I contend that what the words mean, and what Anderson meant, is that the Book was presented in printed form and that it was again approved, and that the approval extended to the *Manner*, etc., an additional part added since the work last occupied the attention of G.L. and (like the rest) already in print. This implies that G.L. and the Brethren generally recognised Wharton's authority to constitute new Lodges prior to January 17th, 1723. Even the hostile section would

have to admit that the 'confirmation' regularised such previous action. Dr. Anderson does not, I contend, make the assertion which Bro. Vibert supposes him to make, and the evidence of the Licence to publish and the catchword, like the evidence of the Frontispiece and that of the Approbation, cease to have any significance adverse to Anderson.

I notice that in *Q.C.A.* x., p. xxiii., Bro. Songhurst says in reference to Dr. Anderson:—

> "I need only point out that in the list preserved by the Lodge of Antiquity, there is no mention of his Wardenship, and that it is not until the 3rd December, 1731 (Book No. 2) that we find him actually described in the *Minutes* as 'formerly Grand Warden.'"

The latter point has already been sufficiently dealt with. As regards the Lodge of Antiquity I have never seen the list referred to, nor have I seen the History of the Lodge by Bro. W. H. Rylands, but from the Review of that work by Bro. W. Wonnacott (*A.Q.C.* xxv., 165) we learn that there are no authentic records anterior to 1736. There is, however, a series of notes, dated 1721 and onwards, which from internal evidence are copies (from an unknown original) made not earlier than 1768. Is Dr. Anderson the *only* G. L. officer whose rank is ignored in the List to which Bro. Songhurst refers?

Inability to agree with our Bro. Vibert in his estimate of Bro. James Anderson as a man in no way decreases my admiration of the scholarly and valuable paper he has been good enough to provide for our guidance and instruction. As regards the charges against Anderson's character I submit that the Doctor is entitled to a verdit of 'not proven.'

Bro. Vibert suggests that the long footnote on Hiram Abiff shows that in 1722 or earlier the Brethren were interested in the name and its interpretation. My own belief is that Anderson seized the opportunity of the very first printed publication ever issued under the auspices of the Fraternity to attempt an answer to what had *long* been a puzzle to the members, namely, why a certain familiar name differed from what they found in every version of the Bible in common use. Bro. Vibert's opinion is that if Anderson's 'mystery tags' possessed any real significance we ought to find one in the footnote on Hiram Abiff. It is not clear why it should occur in the footnote, but I agree that there should be one somewhere in connection with the personage referred to. And there is one, although Bro. Vibert seems to have overlooked it, and I quote from the Benjamin Franklin reprint of the 1723 *B. of C.*:—

> "and a vast many other Craftsmen that could be nam'd who perform according to *Geometry* and the Rules of *Building*; though none since HIRAM ABIF has been renown'd for *Cunning* in all parts of Masonry: And of this enough."

There is nothing occult in the word *Cunning*, it being no more than an echo from *II. Chronicles*, but the passage taken as a whole *may* mean that there was this difference between Hiram and the others, namely, that whereas *they* were skilled Operatives and no more, *he* was renown'd for Cunning in ALL parts of Masonry which included something besides the Operative Science. We have no right to say that the passage does imply as much as this, but it is quite likely that it does.

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Bro. W. J. Williams *writes*:—

Bro. Vibert says that the exclamation "ἑυρηκα" "is always attributed to Archimedes." Undoubtedly it ought always so to be, but Dr. Anderson had his predecessors and also his successors in error. For instance, in Caryl on Job, chapter xi., verse 4 (quarto Edition, London, 1652) we find the following at page 26:—

> "The pleasures of the intellectual part are as much above those of the sensitive, as the understanding itself is above the senses. A *Philosopher* having found out a true and rational conclusion in *Geometry*, ran about the City, where he lived, as if he had been distracted with joy, saying, *I have found it, I have found it.*"

A more modern example is to be found in a book entitled "The Perfect Ceremonies of Craft Masonry" purporting to give Emulation Working (Edition 1918). In an Appendix of Additional and Alternative addresses (p. 232) headed "Not Emulation" the following appears as part of an address to I.P.M.:—

> "Your Jewel is the 47th Problem of the 1st book of Euclid, which was one of the most important discoveries of the learned Brother Pythagoras; and in the joy of his heart he is said to have exclaimed Eureka! ('I have found it') and to have sacrificed a hecatomb."

In another section of his paper Bro. Vibert refers to the "series of phrases implying secrecy which Anderson introduces." Is it not possible that this mystification was introduced for the purpose of putting cowans and intruders on to the wrong tack, just as certain birds flutter and make a fuss, pretending that their nests are where they are not, in order that the real thing may be more effectually concealed?

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Bro. VIBERT *writes* in reply:—

I must first of all thank all those Brethren who, both orally at the time the paper was read in Lodge, and subsequently in writing, have said so many kind things about it. I have not thought it necessary to make any important changes in the text as then presented; but I have taken the opportunity to make it clear that the suggestion as to the real reason for Grand Lodge's refusal to confirm the Regulations in June, 1723, was made originally by Bro. Songhurst, and I have also referred at the outset of the paper to Begemann's chapter on the Constitutions in the second volume of his *History*, which naturally covers much the same ground as this paper, but devotes more space to the historical section than I have felt inclined to give to it.

The W.M. has raised the question whether the Third Degree was in fact ever conferred in Grand Lodge. That there is no reference to it in the Minutes is, as it seems to me, no argument either way. Is it possible that the true state of affairs was that at the time the rule was introduced by Payne this Master's Part was being practised secretly and exclusively by a few Lodges, that Payne's intention was to bring it under the jurisdiction of Grand Lodge and keep it entirely in their hands, but that the Lodges ignored the rule, and that eventually, in 1725, the authorities came to recognise that Payne's conception of the functions of Grand Lodge was no longer appropriate, and they thereupon gave up the attempt to check the new development and formally repealed the Article?

V.W.Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins' discovery of the announcement in the *Daily Courant* will be welcomed by all. With this as a clue I asked Bro. A. L. Miller to search the University records once more, and this he has very kindly done with the help of the present Registrar, Mr. P. J. Anderson, and has also extended his researches so as to include the whole family of Anderson and its connections. The results of his work are embodied in the paper printed elsewhere in this volume, and it will be seen that it has added materially to our knowledge. We now have a great deal of information about Dr. Anderson and his family; specificially we know that he was the son of James Anderson, glazier, Clerk to the Lodge of Aberdeen, and twice Master of it; we know the date of his birth and in which years he was at College; we also have, as it

were, by accident, a glimpse of the youth and his friends at Lauder which is in many ways instructive. As to his D.D. we need have no doubt at all that the paragraph in the *Daily Courant* was accurate, even though, as is likely enough, it was inspired from Swallow Street.

Bro. Daynes speaks of the statement that the work was Anderson's private property as my theory; but it is not new. His own suggestion that Senex owed his promotion as J.G.W. to a possible financing of the *Constitutions* is ingenious; and the connection of the necessity for a new edition that Anderson discovered in 1735 with the approaching lapse of the protection of his copyright is distinctly interesting. Bro. Daynes mentions the three occasions after 1731 on which Anderson was not styled D.D., and this does suggest, as he says, that the new Secretary looked up the entry and found Anderson's addition in the records; but this merely implies that that was made before 1737. The First Minute Book went out of use, except that the list of Grand Officers was kept up to date, in 1731, the year after Anderson had begun to reappear in G.L.

Anderson may have, as Bro. Poole suggests, invented the rule about all tools being approved by G.L.; but I cannot think that he did not read a publication which appeared not merely as a pamphlet but in the *Postman* during July and August, 1722. The provision would be likely to take his fancy as tending to increase the importance of G.L., and he would naturally be wholly unconscious that it was an erroneous reading. In saying that what is alleged to have been burnt in 1720 was not Rituals but copies of the Old Charges, I am merely following Anderson's own description of these documents, which seems to me to indicate the latter and not the former. It is quite possible that the Brethren in the first days of the reorganised Craft did destroy old Rituals,—from various motives. But I am concerned here exclusively with Anderson's statement. I hope Bro. Poole will go further into the question of the Krause MS. It is many years since Gould warned us to be careful lest in our haste some of the ancient beliefs were buried alive (*Hist.* II., 232).

I am grateful to Bro. Songhurst for the amendment as to Clinch the Tyler. I was careful to say that my statement was according to the History; but I had not in fact detected the true source of the item. The 'archives' were merely my deduction from the circumstance that the Cooke Text, produced in G.L. in 1721, was copied by the G. Sec. in 1728, having been in the meantime consulted by Anderson; and I think the Harris No. 1 was also available somewhere, but possibly it was in the custody of a private Lodge.

I am sorry if my language appears harsh to Bro. Hextall, but one has only to compare the Regulations as they appear in 1723 and 1738 to see the frivolous way in which Anderson alters the text of what purports to be the Law of the Craft; and he is always doing this sort of thing. I do mean my remarks as a general criticism, and I am sorry, but I still think it is deserved. The *Constitutions* of 1723 in fact add nothing (of set purpose) to our information as to the early days of Grand Lodge. The quotations Bro. Hextall makes refer to the History of 1738, and there the position is that the only guide we have has been proved to be untrustworthy. But, no doubt, that is better than having no guide at all. Until the pamphlet referred to by Dr. Oliver is traced I would hesitate to found any hypothesis on it, but with regard to the hints of secrecy, to which Bros. Tuckett and Williams also refer, they may indeed have been inserted with the intention of misleading, and of directing unauthorised persons desirous of searching out our mysteries to the wrong places. The suggestion makes it still more unsafe to attempt any deductions from them as to what was the ritual of the period, in any system of which Dr. Anderson may have been cognisant.

I do not lay stress on the Cowley reference; but that the original intention was spiteful, as Bro. Gordon Hills writes, I do not think. Cowley wrote an Ode to the Royal Society, of which he was one of the first incorporated members. The Essay is devoted to proving the simplicity and innocence of the art and its practisers, but the sentence preceding the one I quote is: "The

antiquity of his art is certainly not to be contested by any other." In one of the poems attached to the Essay on Gardens occurs the line: "God the first garden made, and the first city Cain." The tenth edition of his collected works appeared in 1721. But if I concede to Anderson an acquaintance with polite literature, as I am quite willing to do, it would seem that it must be at the expense of his discretion.

Bro. Tuckett's assurance that the effect of this paper is to enhance the value of the *Constitutions* of 1723 leaves me pleased but puzzled. He contends that Anderson in 1738 is recounting the incidents of, not a meeting assuming the functions of Grand Lodge, but a preliminary meeting of Wharton's supporters that was held on 24th June, 1722; and in support of this it appears that there does exist a record of such a meeting, in the form of copies made in 1768 of certain rough contemporary notes, but they describe it as taking place at Merchant Taylors' Hall. I am simply unable to read Anderson's account to mean this. What is the text? ". . . they put in the Chair the oldest Master Mason (who was not the present Master of a Lodge, also irregular) and without the usual decent Ceremonials, the said old Mason proclaim'd aloud Philip Wharton." "Proclaimed aloud" is Anderson's standing phrase used without exception for every Festival and every Grand Master from 1718, as well as for the meeting of January 17th, 1723, and his phrases 'without the usual decent Ceremonials' and 'also irregular' have no meaning unless he is describing a meeting that acted as a Grand Lodge. Next comes the charge that Anderson dishonestly made two alterations in the records. Well, I most studiously refrained from saying that Anderson made the erasure, and I have nowhere used the word 'dishonestly'; but let that pass. Bro. Tuckett suggests that Desaguliers and Timson were confirmed in their offices in January, and that Anderson then replaced Hawkins; that the necessary alteration was therefore made in the record to correspond with these facts; while he further suggests that the entry to the effect that Anderson only officiated for Hawkins in June, 1723, was made in error originally. He lays stress on the fact that, from 1731, when the second Minute Book came into use, Anderson is almost invariably recorded as formerly or late Grand Warden. But among the entries which do not give him this rank are the only two entries made in the first Minute Book after his re-appearance in Grand Lodge, those, namely, of 28th August, 1730, and 24th January, 1731. This indicates that the claim made, after the first Minute Book had been laid aside, that he had been Grand Warden in his own right eight years previously, was admitted. It does not prove that the claim was valid. The erasure is the work of some person who was concerned, not to correct a record, but to destroy evidence. The addition as to Hawkins' demitting is in Anderson's own hand. This suggests that it was permitted by a complaisant Secretary who accepted the entry of the 24th June as he was shown it as evidence justifying the addition, but was not prepared to take the responsibility for it, and left Anderson to make it himself. That it was ever ordered, or sanctioned, by authority I do not believe. Bro. Tuckett is surprised that the erasure occasioned no comment for a century and a half. The explanation is surely obvious; its existence was unknown. How many students have consulted the original record? Gould presumably did, yet he is clearly quite unaware that there is anything doubtful about the entry. He reproduces it in what he calls an exact transcript in the *History*, at II., 373, but without a word to suggest that it is in any way open to suspicion. *Now* the thing is glaring, but it is easy to see what we know is there; and even so it is *easy only in the photograph*, for, as Bro. Tuckett himself says, the words removed are not legible in the original. With regard to Anderson's phrase about the *Manner*, I can only say that if he intended to say that the *Manner* was already in print he was at some pains to select an ambiguous form of words. He could have made the statement without possibility of misunderstanding by putting his phrase 'which was again approved' last. He has not done so and has therefore expressed himself in a way which can be read so as to be consistent with the rest of his story.

Eventually Bro. Tuckett comes to the conclusion that the evidence of the Frontispiece and the Approbation have no significance adverse to Anderson. But he does this by ignoring Anderson's specific statement that Wharton appointed no Deputy. Bro. Tuckett's phrase is that Anderson does not mention Desaguliers; he wishes us to understand that Desaguliers was appointed Deputy in June, 1722, and was confirmed in that appointment at the meeting of January, 1723. But this is an entirely different story from what Anderson has. His definite assertion is "his Grace appointed no Deputy," and he does not stop there, for on January 17th he speaks of Beal as still the Deputy, thus making it appear as though Montagu's Deputy continued in office, and he indicates that Desaguliers is now appointed, because Timson is the only officer of the previous period whom he indicates as now not appointed but merely confirmed by calling him 'foresaid.' How, in the face of this, Bro. Tuckett can assert that the Approbation, which is signed by Desaguliers as Wharton's Deputy in November or December, 1722, does not contradict Anderson, I frankly cannot understand, nor how he can make the same assertion as to the Frontispiece. Anderson's case is that prior to 17th January there were only two officers, both laymen, and after that date there were three of whom two were clergymen. The Frontispiece shows three of whom *only one* is a clergyman (identifiable as Desaguliers), and this is in exact accordance with the official record; but that it contradicts Anderson's later narrative is manifest.

Bro. Tuckett seems to assume that if he can dispose of the present matters there is nothing left to Anderson's detriment. I have not, in the paper, thought it necessary to enlarge on his systematic falsification of his originals, or his persistent inaccuracy; the question concerns more the edition of 1738. But Bro. Tuckett must know that there is plenty of that sort of material to be had. The fact is that the standards of 1723 or 1738 in such matters were not ours, and that no one at the time would have thought any the worse of him for his re-arrangements of the evidence. But to-day we have to realise that Anderson is absolutely unreliable, and that this is the case I do not think Bro. Tuckett will be prepared to deny.

I have already referred to the mystery tags. I did not think the passage Bro. Tuckett quotes as to Hiram was intended to be one (he is, of course, aware that the word 'Cunning,' which he appears to stress, is taken from the narrative in the Bible); but it may be so; in which case it makes the question rather more difficult, because this is then a tag at a point where there was something to conceal.

While I was at work on this paper there was no prospect of an English Facsimile being published. But that 'long-felt want' has now been supplied, and in re-casting the paper to serve as the Introduction to it, I was greatly helped by the additional information, and criticisms, that it evoked. Once more I would thank everyone for the kind way in which the paper has been received, even though I remain unconvinced by the arguments of the eminent advocates who have been briefed for the Defence; and I would especially thank Bro. Crowe for sending to Lodge his specimen of the Wiesbaden reprint.

# THE CONNECTION OF DR. JAMES ANDERSON, OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS," WITH ABERDEEN AND ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY.

*BY BRO. A. L. MILLER, P.M., The Lodge of Aberdeen No. 1[3].*

IN the paper dealing with "Anderson's Constitutions of 1723," read to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge by Bro. Lionel Vibert, P.M., on 2nd March, 1923, reference was made to Dr. Anderson's D.D. degree. As his claim to this degree has been questioned, Bro. Vibert asked me to endeavour to ascertain whether evidence of the conferring of the degree upon Dr. Anderson could be found in the records of Aberdeen University. I approached Mr. P. J. Anderson, M.A., LL.B., Librarian and Clerk of the General Council of the University of Aberdeen, the authority on all matters relating to the past history of the University, who very kindly looked up the old records and gave consideration to the question.

It has been generally agreed that Dr. Anderson was a native of Aberdeen, but, beyond a statement in one of his sermons from which this may be inferred, no definite evidence has been found, and no local evidence has so far been produced. It accordingly seemed desirable to extend the investigation, and to endeavour, by a search amongst such records of Aberdeen in Dr. Anderson's time as have survived, to ascertain whether his connection with the town of Aberdeen could be finally established, and, if possible, to trace his family history. Mr. P. J. Anderson, who is a well-known authority as a genealogist, kindly continued to interest himself in the investigation, and I am very greatly indebted to him for his assistance in the endeavour to ascertain the parentage of Dr. Anderson and in collecting the information contained in this paper.

The results of both investigations follow. Some notes have also been included, dealing with the question whether Dr. Anderson was a member of the Lodge of Aberdeen.

At the time Dr. Anderson lived there were in Aberdeen two degree granting Colleges, King's College and Marischal College, founded in 1494 and 1593 respectively. They were united in one University in 1860. The evidence that Dr. Anderson was a student at Marischal College is furnished by himself. When he published his chief work, the *Royal Genealogies*, in 1732, he presented a copy to Marischal College, still in the University Library, with the following dedication in his own handwriting[1]:—

> Almam Matrem Academiam Mareschallanam hoc libro donavit ejusdem auctor. Jacobus Anderson, D.D.[2]

The main facts of Dr. Anderson's life, after he left Marischal College, are mentioned in the *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark*, by Walter Wilson, published in 1814.[3] There is also a reference to him by a correspondent, writing over the initial "B," in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of January, 1783.[4]

[1] Reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii., p. 28; and in *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., p. 196.
[2] "To his Alma Mater, Marischal College, the author has presented this book. James Anderson, D.D."
[3] *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iv., pp. 33 and 46.
[4] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. liii., pp. 41 and 321.

From these two sources it appears that, after preaching for some time in Scotland, Dr. Anderson went to London and formed a congregation of Scotsmen residing in the neighbourhood of Westminster. His first church in London was in Glass-house Street, but, in February, 1710, he removed with his congregation to a building in Swallow Street, Piccadilly. Wilson states that he married a wealthy lady, but, according to both Wilson and the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a considerable part of his property was lost by the failure of the South Sea Scheme in 1720. In consequence of a difference with his congregation, he left the Swallow Street Church in 1734, and became minister of another church in Lisle Street, Leicester Fields. He died on 28th May, 1739, leaving a son and a daughter. It appears also to have been generally agreed that Dr. Anderson was a brother of Adam Anderson, chief clerk, South Sea House, London, author of a History of Commerce,[1] one of the notable books of the past and still an authority as a book of reference.

## *DR. ANDERSON'S PARENTAGE.*

The investigator in Aberdeen is fortunate in having available in printed form many of the records of its past days reproduced in such volumes as those of the Spalding Club and the New Spalding Club. In searching through these publications, what appeared to be a clue to the parentage of Dr. Anderson was found in the *List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen in 1696*. This List, the original manuscript of which is in the Library of King's College, Aberdeen, was printed in 1844. It is a List, made out in 1696, of all residents in Aberdeenshire who were liable to assessment for Poll Tax, and, in the record of names of those assessable in the town of Aberdeen, there occurs the following entry [2]:—

> James Anderson, glazier, stock under 10,000 merks, for himself, wife, Robert, James, Adam and Elizabeth, his children; Servants, Janet Ross, 16 merks yearly and Isobel Airth, 14 Merks. £6. 18/-.

This record in 1696, it will be noted, shows that James Anderson, glazier in Aberdeen, had sons named James and Adam.

A similar return was made in 1694 in connection with assessment for Poll Tax in the Burgh of Aberdeen,[3] the entry relating to James Anderson reading:—

> James Anderson, glazier, is not pollable in Town, his greatest interest being in Shire, but gives in his family, which is four children, his wife and three servants.

The Parish Registers of the period are now in the custody of the Registrar-General, New Register House, Edinburgh, and a search was made there in the Register of Baptisms applicable to the Parish of Aberdeen, which disclosed the whole of the family of James Anderson, glazier, with the exception of Robert, whose baptism is probably recorded in one of the country Registers. The name of James Anderson's wife was Jean Campbell, and the members of their family, with dates of baptism, are recorded as follows:— *David*, 25th March, 1673; *Jean*, 1st January, 1675; *Margaret*, 28th November, 1676; *James*, 19th January, 1679; *Elizabeth*, 20th March, 1681; *John*, 31st December, 1682; *Archibald*, 29th October, 1684; *Thomas*, 12th September, 1686; *Andrew*, 13th December, 1689; *Adam*, 2nd May, 1692; *Helen*, 21st November, 1694.

Further investigation disclosed the following information regarding the members of the family:—

1. *David*. The Rev. David Anderson, D.D., educated at Marischal College, was minister of the Parish of Foveran, Aberdeenshire, and afterwards

[1] *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, published 1762 in two volumes, folio.

[2] *List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen in 1696*, vol. ii., p. 626.

[3] Manuscript Records of the City of Aberdeen.

Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, from 1711 to 1733.[1] In 1727 he was appointed one of the King's Chaplains.[2] The Minutes of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen record his marriage:—

> 8th April 1700. Mr. David Anderson, minister of Foveran, contracted with Katharine Mitchell, lawful daughter to the deceased Thomas Mitchell, Baillie of Aberdeen. James Anderson, father to the said Mr. David, cautioner for him, and Thomas Mitchell, Provost of Aberdeen, cautioner for the said Katharine.

In 1719 the Rev. David Anderson and his son, James, were admitted honorary burgesses of the Burgh of Old Aberdeen.[3] He was buried in the Churchyard of the Cathedral at Old Aberdeen. The inscription upon his tombstone is no longer legible, but, according to an old manuscript, it read[4]:—

> Quod mortale fuit viri Reverendi Dav. Anderson, Theologiae Professoris in Acad. Reg. Aberdonensi et uxoris ejus Cath. Mitchell, sub hoc marmore conditur. Obiit ille Id. Febr. A.D. Mdccxxxiii; aetatis suae lx. Necnon hic jacet filia eorum Catharina uxor viri Reverendi Gulielmi Dyce Pastoris Ecclesiæ de Belhelvie: quae obiit VI$^{to}$ Nonas Maii A.D Mdcclxxiii. Vixit annos lxxii.[5]

2. *Robert.* In the Burgess Register of Aberdeen appears the entry of the admission of Robert Anderson as a Guild Burgess:—

> 1694. August 22. Robert Anderson, third son of James Anderson, glazier, burgess, a pupil.[6]

3. *Elizabeth.* The Minutes of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen record her marriage:—

> November 4th, 1710. Forwell Georgeson, skipper in Arendal in Norway and Elizabeth Anderson, lawful daughter to James Anderson, glazier, burgess in Aberdeen, were contracted by Mr. Campbell. Cautioner for the man, Alexander Mackay, skipper, and for the woman, James Anderson, her father.

4. In the St. Nicholas Churchyard is a tombstone bearing the following inscription:—

> Here lyes
> Margaret Anderson who departed 31 of December 1682 age 6
> As also John Anderson who departed 27 December 1682[7]
> As also Archibald Anderson who departed 30 November 1685
> As also Thomas Anderson who departed 12 Junij 1687.

Although the tombstone has no other lettering upon it, it is clear, from a comparison between the inscription and the particulars given above from the Register of Baptisms, that these are children of James Anderson, glazier. This is confirmed by the Town's Records, which contain entries of fees received for burials in St. Nicholas Churchyard. There are six entries of fees paid by James Anderson, glazier, for burial of children who died within a few months of their birth. Five of these are dated respectively 2nd August, 1675; 28th December, 1682; November, 1685; June, 1687, and July, 1695; and there is

1 *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen*, by P. J. Anderson (New Spalding Club publication), p. 71.

2 Orems: *Description of Old Aberdeen*, p. 333.

3 *Records of Old Aberdeen* (New Spalding Club publication), by A. M. Munro, vol. i., p. 281.

4 *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 234.

5 "What was mortal of the Rev. David Anderson, Professor of Theology in King's College, Aberdeen, and of his wife, Cath. Mitchell, is interred under this stone. He died 13th February, A.D. 1733, aged 60. Here lies also their daughter, Catherine, wife of the Rev. William Dyce, minister of the Church of Belhelvie, who died 2nd May, A.D. 1773: she lived 72 years."

6 *The Miscellany of the New Spalding Club*, vol. ii., p. 470.

7 A discrepancy with the Register of Baptisms, which gives the date of baptism of John Anderson as 31st December, 1682.

an entry, undated, occurring in the accounts for the years 1689/90. These, it will be noted from a comparison with the dates of baptism given above and also the record on the tombstone, represent Jean, John, Archibald. Thomas, Helen and Andrew, all of whom appear to have died in infancy. There is also an entry, dated 31st December, 1682, of the burial of a daughter (Margaret, who died at the age of six), which corresponds with the date given on the tombstone.

We have accordingly the record of a family in Aberdeen in 1696 of the name of Anderson, which included a son named James, who had a brother Adam, thirteen years younger than himself. The period of study of these two boys at Marischal College can be identified in the University records, and all facts seem to warrant the assumption that the two sons of the glazier became respectively the authors of the *Royal Genealogies* and the *History of Commerce.* This assumption, however, hangs upon acceptance of the relationship between Dr. Anderson and Adam Anderson, the author of the History of Commerce, who died in 1765, and its correctness must be judged in conjunction with the limited evidence which exists, tending to show that Dr. Anderson and Adam Anderson were brothers, and that both were natives of Aberdeen.

Dr. Anderson's own words in the sermon preached by him on 27th October, 1723, on the anniversary of the death of the Rev. William Lorimer, point very clearly to Aberdeen as his native town. In the dedication of the sermon to the Earl of Buchan, he refers to "the late Reverend Mr. William Lorimer, born and educated at Aberdeen." In the sermon itself he states:—"Mr. William Lorimer was born at Aberdeen in January, 1640-1, of honest and reputable Parents in that City,"[1] following upon which he describes Mr. Lorimer as "my Townsman."[2] The author of the *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, before referred to, published in 1814, states with reference to Dr. Anderson:—"This learned Divine was a native of Aberdeen, North Britain."[3] There appears to be no definite evidence of the connection of Adam Anderson with Aberdeen, but this would follow if it is agreed that he was a brother of Dr. Anderson.

The earliest recorded mention of the relationship between Dr. Anderson and Adam Anderson appears to be that of the correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine of January*, 1783. The writer describes Adam Anderson as "a gentleman whom I knew and esteemed," and also refers to him as "my old friend, Mr. Anderson." Amongst other observations he states:—"He was brother to the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., editor of the 'Diplomata Scotiæ'[4] and 'Royal Genealogies,' many years since minister of the Scots Presbyterian Church in Swallow Street, Piccadilly." It will be noted that this statement is made with the authority of one who had known Adam Anderson, and was made only eighteen years after he died. In the *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, in 1814, there occurs the statement:—"Dr. Anderson had a brother, Mr. Adam Anderson, who was 40 years a clerk in the South-Sea House, and compiled that valuable work, the 'History of Commerce.'"[5] In recent years, the relationship between Adam and James Anderson has been generally accepted.

The year of Dr. Anderson's birth has been given as 1680,[6] but regarded as uncertain. The year of birth of Adam Anderson has been usually indicated

[1] Rev. William Lorimer took M.A. Degree at Marischal College in 1661; probably also studied Divinity there; went to London in 1664; took Episcopalian ordination, but afterwards became Nonconformist Minister. Died 1722, aged 80, leaving a sum of money to Marischal College to found the "Lorimer Bursary." (See *Records of Marischal College and University*, vol. i., p. 403, and vol. ii., p. 225.)

[2] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii., p. 12.

[3] Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iv., p. 33.

[4] This is an error, as the author of *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus* was James Anderson, the Scottish antiquary (1662-1728). The authorship of this book has been frequently ascribed to Dr. Anderson.

[5] Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iv., p. 35.

[6] *A.Q.C.* vol. xxiii., p. 8.

as 1692. This is confirmed by the following notice from the *Public Advertiser* of Monday, 14th January, 1765, quoted by Gould[1]:—

> Friday, died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, at the South Sea House, in his 73d year, Mr. Adam Anderson, author of the 'Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce,' in two volumes, folio, lately published.

It will be noted that 1692 is the same year as that given in the Aberdeen Register of Baptisms as the year of baptism of Adam Anderson, son of James Anderson, glazier, and a search made in the Register of Baptisms shows the name of no other Adam Anderson baptised in Aberdeen during the years 1674 to 1704. The family of James Anderson, glazier, is accordingly the only Aberdeen family during this period of thirty years in which there is recorded an Adam and a James Anderson.

It is also significant that the names of Professor David Anderson and Adam Anderson (both of them brothers of Dr. Anderson, if the above identification is correct) are included in the list printed in the *Royal Genealogies* of original subscribers to that work.

The evidence provided by these statements may be summed up as follows:—

Adam Anderson, the author of the *History of Commerce*, was born in 1692, and, by the testimony of one of his personal friends, was a brother of Dr. Anderson. Dr. Anderson studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and, by his own statement, claimed to be Aberdonian. If Dr. Anderson was a native of Aberdeen, so also must have been his brother Adam, and the only Adam Anderson baptised in Aberdeen about that time was Adam, the son of James Anderson, glazier, the year of whose birth coincides with that of Adam Anderson, the historian. He had a brother, James, baptised in 1679, and the University records identify the period of study at Marischal College of both James and Adam Anderson, James entering in 1694 and Adam in 1708.

Nothing is definitely known of Dr. Anderson's early life, except that he was a student at Marischal College. Keeping in view, however, his own indication of Aberdeen as his native town, the facts above set forth appear to justify the conclusion that both he and Adam Anderson, the historian, were sons of James Anderson, glazier in Aberdeen, and, in what follows, the correctness of this identification is assumed.

If, accordingly, the facts above set forth may be accepted as sufficient to warrant this conclusion, it will be seen that Dr. Anderson was one of a family of twelve. Seven of the family died in childhood, and four sons and a daughter grew up. Three of the four surviving sons attained some measure of distinction, and it was undoubtedly a notable Aberdeen family which had amongst its members David Anderson, Professor of Divinity, James Anderson, author of the *Royal Genealogies*, and Adam Anderson, author of the *History of Commerce.*

The date of baptism of James, the son of James Anderson, glazier, was 19th January, 1679. Dr. Anderson would, therefore, have been thirty-one when he went to Swallow Street, and sixty when he died. The entry in the Register in Edinburgh recording his baptism reads as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Anderson glassier | James Anderson and Jean Campbell his spous had ane sonne baptized be Mr. Patricke Sibbald called James—James Rolland of Disblaire James Watsons eldr & yoe$^{r}$ James Anderson trads Clarke James Browne James Leslie barbadose.[2] |

It will be noted that the entry follows a custom of the time, as shown by various entries in the Baptismal Register, of selecting witnesses to the baptism

[1] Gould: *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., p. 291.

[2] The words "trads Clarke" (Trades Clerk) mean Clerk to the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, and the word "barbadose" appears to signify that James Leslie was a resident in Barbados.

of the same Christian name as the infant. One of the witnesses, James Rolland, of Disblair, was a nephew of Dr. Guild, who is afterwards referred to.

James Anderson, glazier, the father of Dr. Anderson, was Clerk to the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, when its records commence, and his connection with the Lodge is afterwards referred to. The only scraps of information regarding him which I have been able to trace are:—

1. On 26th February, 1689, there was admitted a trade burgess of the Town of Aberdeen, "James Anderson, glass worker, eldest son of the late James Anderson, burgess."[1]

2. His name appears in the old records of the Hammermen Incorporation of Aberdeen. He was admitted to the freedom of the Hammermen Craft on 13th April, 1689, and is described as "a freeman's son." In 1697 he was appointed one of the masters of the Incorporation, and the records also show that in 1692 he presented an oak chair. Twenty-three of such chairs, including that gifted by James Anderson, are still in the possession of the Trades Incorporation, most of them presented in the seventeenth century by prominent members of the various crafts. His name also appears occasionally in the records of the Town Council and in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Aberdeen and the Kirk Session of St. Nicholas.

3. In St. Mary's Chapel, Aberdeen, amongst other old carved panels, there is a panel with the inscription "Ja. Anderson, Glassier ." The mark is the Mason Mark of James Anderson as it appears after his name in the list of members of the Lodge of Aberdeen recorded in the Mark Book of the Lodge in 1670, and is the Mark by which he signed the Lodge copy of the Old Charges, which is in his own handwriting. These panels formed part of the woodwork and seating of the old West Church of St. Nicholas. They were removed to the East Church in 1732, and again to St. Mary's Chapel in 1836.[2]

4. In the Council Registers it is recorded that, on 10th March, 1696, on the report of a threatened French invasion, all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were ordered to assemble under arms: officers were appointed, and the list included "James Anderson, glazier, lieutenant." On 15th March, 1708, in similar circumstances, he was again appointed lieutenant.[3]

5. In the Town's Old Kirk and Bridge Works Accounts there is the following entry in the list of burials:—

1722, June 12. James Anderson, glazier.

As he was born, as afterwards shown, in 1649, he would have been seventy-three when he died in 1722.

James Anderson appears to have been a citizen of some substance in Aberdeen, as shown by the amount of his assessment for Poll Tax in 1696, and of some standing amongst the burgesses of the town, as shown by his being nominated lieutenant when steps were taken to protect the town against threatened invasion.

Who Dr. Anderson's mother, Jean Campbell, was, or where she came from, I have been unable to ascertain. As the marriage between her and James Anderson is not recorded in the Aberdeen Registers of the time, it may be assumed that she came from one of the country districts of Aberdeenshire or Kincardineshire, and had been married there. As shown later, Dr. Anderson was in the Arbuthnot district in Kincardineshire when a student in 1696 during his summer holidays, and this may have been his mother's native

[1] *The Miscellany of the New Spalding Club*, vol. ii., p. 463.
[2] *Scottish Notes and Queries*, vol. ii., p. 8.
[3] *Extracts from Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625-1745* (Scottish Burgh Records Society publication), vol. ii., pp. 317 and 334.

district.[1] In the Town's Records, there is the following entry in the list of burials:—

24th December, 1722. Relict of James Anderson.

It will be seen that she died six months after her husband.

No evidence could at first be obtained as to the ancestry of Dr. Anderson's father, beyond the fact noted above that he was entered in the Burgess Register as the son of James Anderson, Burgess. Two significant facts, however, became apparent:—

1. The flat tombstone in St. Nicholas Churchyard recording the names of four of the children of James Anderson, glazier, who died in childhood, is situated immediately under the large mural monument to Dr. William Guild, erected by his widow in 1659, showing that these four children, brothers and sister of Dr. Anderson, were buried in Dr. Guild's family burying ground.

2. The List of Pollable Persons in Aberdeenshire in 1696 contains the following entry with reference to a piece of land in the Parish of Forgue, Aberdeenshire:—

> A list of Pollable Persons within the valuation of the heirs of Thomas Cushney, which valuation is £350 (Whereof £210 belongs to the Viscount of Frendraught and is life-rented by my Lady Dowager, and £140 belongs to James Anderson, Glazier in Aberdeen).[2]

The significance lay in the fact that two of Dr. William Guild's sisters married respectively David Anderson, of Finzeauch, and Thomas Cushney, and it appeared that James Anderson had some connection with the Guild family.

In investigating the forbears of James Anderson, glazier, I have been indebted to Brother W. Elder Levie, a member of the Lodge of Aberdeen, for his assistance and co-operation, and for the search made by him amongst the manuscript documents in possession of the Town. It was necessary to have searches made also in the Registers in Edinburgh; these, as also the other Edinburgh searches of this investigation, were carried out by Mr. H. M. Paton, Genealogist and Searcher of Records there. The results are shown in the family tree in the Appendix. Most of the particulars regarding the descendants of David Anderson, of Finzeauch, were already known, but on the Cushney side everything had to be traced.

From the information supplied by these searches, there appeared little doubt that James Anderson, glazier, was a descendant of Matthew Guild, armourer, either in the Cushney or Anderson branch. From the significance of the name, the natural conclusion was to place him in the Anderson branch, but the searches disclosed the fact that two men of the name of James Anderson appeared to have married granddaughters of Matthew Guild, both named Jean, one marrying the daughter of David Anderson, of Finzeauch, and

[1] Perhaps a surmise may be permitted. The Rev. David Campbell was minister from 1644 to 1676 of the Parish of Ecclesgreig (now St. Cyrus), one of the parishes adjoining Arbuthnot. He married Margaret Carnegie, then in her 18th year, in June, 1643, and, as shown by their family tombstone, four sons, five daughters and two grandchildren are buried in the Churchyard of Ecclesgreig. Dr. Anderson, when a student at Marischal College, as shown by evidence given by him before the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1697, afterwards quoted, was spending his holidays in that district in July, 1696, and appears to have been well known in the district. The Janet Straton mentioned in his evidence married the Rev. James Leslie, minister of Ecclesgreig, on 30th July, 1696, at the time Dr. Anderson was there. If Dr. Anderson's mother had been a daughter of the Rev. David Campbell, his acquaintance with the district and his presence there would be accounted for. It was the custom of the time to continue family Christian names, and this relationship would explain why Dr. Anderson's eldest brother was named David and his sister Margaret, names which, as will be seen from the family tree which follows, were not previously in use in that branch of the family. The names of the four eldest children of James Anderson and Jean Campbell were David, Jean, Margaret and James, which would be the names of the four grandparents. As the Registers of the Parish of Ecclesgreig do not date further back than the year 1696, it has been impossible to check the correctness of this assumption. (See *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 863, and *Jervise's Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, p. 37.)

[2] *List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen in 1696*, vol. ii., p. 406.

the other the daughter of Thomas Cushney (see family tree). The searches also disclosed the names of their children; the daughter of David Anderson had four children, and the daughter of Thomas Cushney nine. There was, however, no son of the name of James in the first-mentioned of these families, and the Register of Baptisms showed the maiden name of the mother of James Anderson, glazier, to be Jean Cushney. Dr. Anderson's father is accordingly identified as the son, born 6th September, 1649, of James Anderson and Jean Cushney. The following additional facts support the correctness of the conclusions drawn from the searches:—

1. The entry in the Poll Book of 1696 identifies James Anderson, glazier, as an heir of Thomas Cushney. Thomas Cushney, who married Christian Guild, was himself a glazier,[1] as was also his son, Thomas,[2] and James Anderson, would appear to have entered the business of his grandfather or uncle.

2. James Anderson, glazier, appears in the Burgess Register as the "eldest son of the late James Anderson, burgess," and it will be seen from the family tree that the eldest son of James Anderson and Jean Cushney was named James. Four entries in the Register record the admission of burgesses of the name of James Anderson during the years 1630 to 1650, but the information given is insufficient to identify which was the husband of Jean Cushney.

3. The names of five of the nine members of the family of James Anderson and Jean Cushney are repeated in the family of James Anderson, glazier, namely, James, Jean, Thomas, Andrew and Elizabeth (Bessie).

4. Four of the children of James Anderson, glazier, are buried in Dr. Guild's burying ground in St. Nicholas Churchyard, thus identifying him with the Guild family.

Most of the names included in the family tree are only of local interest, but it includes the name of Dr. William Guild and the Gregory family. Some information as to these may be given:—

1. William Guild, D.D. (1586-1657), one of the best remembered names in the annals of Aberdeen, was Principal of King's College, and published several works of some interest in his time. His chief title to remembrance in Aberdeen, however, lies in his benefactions, especially his gift of house property and money to the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, which resulted in establishing them for the first time upon a united footing.

2. The Gregory family is probably the most distinguished family, from the point of view of learning, which Aberdeen has produced[3]: in three generations, as will be seen from the family tree, they provided nine Professors of that name to various Universities. The best known of the family is James Gregory (1638-1675), one of the eminent mathematicians of the seventeenth century, and inventor of the Gregorian Reflecting Telescope. He was Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrew's University, 1669-1674, and afterwards became the first Professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh University.

In the lifetime of Dr. Anderson, six of his kinsmen occupied Professor's chairs at various Universities, namely:—

David Gregory (1659-1708), described by Sir Isaac Newton as "one of the most able and judicious mathematicians of his age,"—Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh 1683-1691: Professor of Astronomy at Oxford 1691-1708.

James Gregory (1666-1742)—Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrew's University 1688-1691: Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University 1692-1725.

Charles Gregory (1681-1754)—Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrew's University 1707-1739.

1 John Row's Diary: *Scottish Notes and Queries*, vol. vii., p. 71.
2 Burgess Register: *Miscellany of the New Spalding Club*, vol. ii., p. 418.
3 *Records of Marischal College and University*, vol. i., p. 203.

James Gregory (1674-1733)—Professor of Medicine at King's College, Aberdeen, 1725-1732.

David Gregory (1696-1767)—Professor of Modern History at Oxford, 1723-1736: afterwards Dean of Christ Church.

James Gregory (1707-1755)—Professor of Medicine at King's College, Aberdeen, 1732-1755.

Dr. Anderson's brother, David, it will be remembered, was Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, and, if there is added to the list the names of Adam Anderson, the author of the *History of Commerce*, and of Dr. Anderson himself, the mental distinction of these descendants of Matthew Guild is apparent.

## *DR. ANDERSON'S STUDENT DAYS.*

It is clear that Dr. Anderson was a student at Marischal College, as, in the dedication of the copy of his *Royal Genealogies* presented to Marischal College, he definitely identifies that College as his Alma Mater.

The names of former students and recipients of degrees at Marischal College will be found in the *Records of Marischal College and University* (New Spalding Club publication), by Mr. P. J. Anderson. The University Registers contain the record of two students of the name of James Anderson who were at Marischal College at the time when Dr. Anderson was of student age. Their names appear in the *Records of Marischal College and University*, as follows:—

1694-1698 Jacobus Anderson
1698-1702 Jac. Anderson a Westertoun [1]

The first of these students having already been identified in the *Records of Marischal College* as the James Anderson who became Minister of Rathen, a Parish in Aberdeenshire, attention was directed to the second. The James Anderson who entered College in 1698 would appear to have been a son of John Anderson, of Westertown, whose name is recorded as a student at Marischal College in 1672. If this entry, however, represented Dr. Anderson, he would have been nineteen when he went to Marischal College, the usual age of entering College in those days being about fourteen. The List of Pollable Persons in 1696 contains an entry recording "Westertoun's valuation of his lands of Dumuoy," [2] and an investigation as to the Westertown family was made in the Registers in Edinburgh. It showed that the Andersons of Westertown were proprietors of the small estate of Dumuoys, or Dummies, near Huntly, Aberdeenshire, but appeared to have no connection with the family of James Anderson, glazier.

Having discarded this entry, consideration of the Anderson who entered College in 1694 showed that the identification with the Minister of Rathen rested solely upon the known fact of his having been licensed as a minister in 1701. If, however, he had taken the full course of eight years at College, which was usual in the case of a Divinity student, he would not have qualified for licence until at least 1702. Further consideration appeared to indicate that the Minister of Rathen was the James Anderson who took his M.A. degree at King's College in 1694. This assumption was supported by the fact that Thomas Anderson, the son of the Minister of Rathen, was a student at King's College in 1724-28,[3] the custom of the time being that the son should be sent to his father's College, and Mr. P. J. Anderson concludes that the identification of the Minister of Rathen with the entry of 1694-98 is erroneous, and that it must be accepted as representing the student days of Dr. Anderson, with which all the facts agree.

[1] *ib.*, vol. ii., pp. 270 and 277.
[2] *List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen in 1696*, vol. ii., p. 274.
[3] *Roll of Alumni of King's College*, p. 62.

It would appear, accordingly, that Dr. Anderson entered Marischal College in 1694 at the age of fifteen as an Arts student, and, at the end of four years, he would have been entitled to the degree of M.A., which he claimed. Amongst the students at Marischal College at the time was James Gibbs, the celebrated London architect, who entered College two years after Dr. Anderson. He is referred to in the *Constitutions* of 1738,[1] and was one of the subscribers to the *Royal Genealogies* when published.

On completing his Arts course at Marischal College in 1698, Dr. Anderson commenced the study of Divinity. No list of names of the Divinity students of the time has survived, but the fact is vouched for by a Town Council Minute of 16th November, 1698,[2] which records the granting of the Johnstone bursary in Divinity to Dr. Anderson in the following terms:—

Mr. Ja. Anderson admitted To Johnstounes burse of Divinity

The said day the Councell receaved and admitted Mr. James Anderson student to the vaccant burs of the deceast Mr. John Johnston founded by him for the study of Theologie (the said Mr. James being found qualified) and that for the space of four years course in the said study his entry yrto to be and begine at the terme of martimass last bypast and gives and grants to him the benefits and emoluments of the said Mortification viz. sixtie pounds Scots yearly or the @ rent effeirand to ane thousand pounds to be payed to him at Martimass and Whitsunday by equall portions dureing the space forsaid and ordains ane presentation and act of Admission to be extended hereon conforme to the Mortification and act of counsell yr anent.

It will be noted that the bursary was tenable for a period of four years. The Town Council Minutes also record the granting of the Johnstone bursary to Robert Willox on 20th November, 1702,[3] and the fact that there is no record of this bursary having been granted between these dates is proof that Dr. Anderson remained at Marischal College for the full period of four years as a student of Divinity. His years of study completed, he would then have left Marischal College in 1702 at the age of twenty-three.

None of Dr. Anderson's teachers at Marischal College appear to have been of unusual distinction. It may be noted that Professor George Liddell, the Professor of Mathematics, was a member of the Lodge of Aberdeen, and would consequently have been a friend of his father.

I have been unable to find proof of Dr. Anderson's presence in Aberdeen after the year 1702, when he finished his Divinity studies at Marischal College. The candidate for the Ministry in Scotland, after completing his Arts course of four years at one of the Universities, passed through a four years' course in Divinity. At the end of that period he submitted himself to one of the Presbyteries for trials, and, if found satisfactory, was licensed to preach. On being called to be minister of a church, he was ordained[4] by the Presbytery of the district in which the church was situated. The author of the *History of Dissenting Churches* in 1814 states that Dr. Anderson went to London "after preaching for some time without any settlement in his own country," and describes the Swallow Street Church as a "Scotch Presbyterian" Church. The latter statement is confirmed by the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1783, who refers to Dr. Anderson as "minister of the Scots Presbyterian

[1] *Constitutions of 1738*, p. 121. James Gibbs, architect of the London Churches, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and St. Mary's-in-the-Strand, was born at Aberdeen in 1682. After completing his education at Marischal College, he spent some years in Holland and Italy. He settled in London about 1709, and died in 1754. His father's name was Patrick Gibb, and it will be noted that Dr. Anderson, in his reference to James Gibbs in the *Constitutions*, uses the Aberdeen form of the name Gibb instead of Gibbs.

[2] Council Register, vol. 57, p. 682.

[3] *ib.*, p. 845.

[4] In England, the candidate for the Church takes Holy Orders and is afterwards instituted in a living. In Scotland, he is licensed to preach and "ordained" on his appointment as minister of a church.

church in Swallow Street." It follows from both these statements that Dr. Anderson, after completing his University training, became a licensed minister of the Church of Scotland. There is no evidence in their Minutes of his having been licensed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, and neither the records of that Presbytery nor of the Kirk Session of St. Nicholas appear to contain any reference to him, other than an account of evidence given by him before the Presbytery in 1697. Although not licensed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, however, he could have been licensed by any one of the numerous Presbyteries of Scotland, and it is likely that a record of this might be found in the Minutes of one of the Presbyteries, probably in the Minutes of one of the Presbyteries of Aberdeenshire or Kincardineshire. It was the custom of the Kirk Sessions to record weekly in their Minutes the name of each minister who preached. In the Session Records, accordingly, if the references could be found, a further period of Dr. Anderson's life in Scotland might be traced.

Beyond the indication referred to that Dr. Anderson preached for some time in Scotland, this investigation leaves his life unaccounted for between the year 1702, when he left Marischal College, and 1709, when he appears as a minister in London. What led him to venture to London instead of becoming minister of a Parish in Scotland, can only be conjectured. His introduction to ministerial life in London may have been due to the Rev. William Lorimer—an Aberdonian, and possibly an early friend or relative of his father—to whom he referred as one of the ministers who ordained him. In the sermon in which this reference occurs, preached at the Swallow Street Church on the anniversary of Mr. Lorimer's death, Dr. Anderson described him as "one of my spiritual Fathers, always my cordial Friend and left in his Will a Legacy to the Poor of this Church."

When an Arts student at Marischal College, Dr. Anderson appeared as a witness before the Presbytery of Aberdeen, and his evidence is recorded in the Presbytery Minutes. Although it adds little to our knowledge of the author of the *Constitutions*, the Presbytery Minute at least affords a glimpse of him in his early days, and may be quoted:—

> At Aberdeen, Wednesday, 3rd November 1697.
>
> This day a letter was produced by the Moderator from the Presbytery of Dundee, craving that the deposition of James Anderson, student of Philosophy in Aberdeen, might be taken by this Presbytery in the articles libelled against Mr. Abercromby, Minister at Lauder, the tenor of which articles follows, viz:—
>
> (1) That, in Wardroptown's house, the said Mr. Abercromby slandered Mr. William Arrott, Minister at Montrose, with covetousness and double dealing, and said he would rather choose to be colleague to his own dog than to Mr. Arrott, which slander he also vented in Montrose.
>
> (2) That the said Mr. Abercromby said that the way to be a Presbyterian minister was to speak nonsense with confidence.
>
> (3) He, being inquired by Janet Straton what difference there was betwixt Presbytery and Prelacy, answered he know none, but that Presbyterians denied the Lord's Prayer, cast off glory to Father, and, for anything he knew, would next deny their creed.
>
> (4) When at night he was desired to pray in Wardroptown's family, he said that, if he prayed, they would get unsanctified prayers, and then, upon much entreaty, kneeling down spoke only four or five sentences.
>
> (5) Upon a Saturday's night, he said before severals that he had drunk wine with the Provost of Montrose and others till he was indisposed for study and behoved to go to the links and walk.
>
> (6) That the said Mr. Abercromby named his dog (whose name was Sparkie before), by Baillie Ogilvie's instigation, Francie frequently

in Wardroptown's house and other places in contempt of Mr. Francis Melville, Minister at Arbuthnot.

The Presbytery, taking the whole affair into their consideration, appoints the foresaid James Anderson to be cited to compear before them against four of the clock in the afternoon to give his deposition in the said articles, and the Clerk to give him an extract of them immediately, that he may maturely deliberate upon them before the said diet.

Four of the clock being now come, James Anderson, student of Philosophy at Aberdeen, summoned to the said hour, was called and compeared and declared himself to be aged 19 years,[1] unmarried. Then, being sworn judicially and purged of malice and partial counsel, was particularly interrogated by the Moderator anent every one of the forementioned six articles libelled against the said Mr. Abercromby.

And, as to the first, deponed that he, the said deponent, happening to be in Wardroptown's house in July 1696, on the Monday after the Communion at Arbuthnot, did see the said Mr. Abercromby there and heard him say of himself that he was much applauded at Montrose for his preaching, whereupon, he being told by some present that they were like to call him to be second minister at Montrose, he answered in the deponent's hearing and repeated it six or seven times while they were in company together. "What" said he "to Arrott? To Arrott? I had "rather be colleague to my dog, Francie, than to be colleague to "Arrott."

As to the second article, nihil novit.

As to the third, deponed that the said Mr. Abercromby, being asked by Janet Straton what difference there was between Presbytery and Prelacy, answered in the deponent's hearing that he knew no difference but that Presbyterians denied the Lord's Prayer, cast off glory to the Father, and for aught he knew would next deny their Creed.

As to the fourth article, nihil novit.

As to the fifth, nihil novit, except that he saw Mr. Abercromby walking on a Saturday's night in the links of Montrose.

As to the sixth and last, deponed that the said Mr. Abercromby, being asked by Janet Straton why he called his dog Francie, the deponent heard him answer that one morning, taking his morning draught with Baillie Ogilvie, who asked his dog's name, he told him it was Sparkie: the Baillie willed him to call him no more Sparkie, but Francie, for he was better than Francie Melville and his wife both, and that he had ever called him so since that time.

The deponent declared all this to be the truth as he should answer to God, and subscribed the same

James Anderson.

The Presbytery appoints the Moderator to transmit the said depositions to the Presbytery of Dundee.

Amongst other entries in the Marischal College Records are the following:—

1708-1712 Ad. Anderson [2]

[1] The date of baptism of Dr. Anderson was 19th January, 1679. Judging from this, he would have been a few weeks short of nineteen on 3rd November, 1697. There is little doubt, however, that the reference is to Dr. Anderson. He is described as a student of Philosophy (*i.e.*, an Arts student) at Aberdeen, and Dr. Anderson was the only student of that name at either Marischal College or King's College at the time.

[2] *Records of Marischal College and University*, vol. ii., p. 288.

This is the record of the student days of Dr. Anderson's brother, Adam, author of the *History of Commerce*. It will be seen that he entered College at the age of sixteen, and would appear to have qualified for his M.A. degree.

1733-1737. Jac. Anderson (Liddell bursar) [1]

This is Dr. Anderson's son, and the record in the Town's Minutes of the conferring of the Liddell bursary upon him, dated 26th October, 1733,[2] reads as follows:—

> James Anderson to Liddells burse — The said Day the Magistrats and Council nominated and presented and hereby nominat and present James Anderson son to Mr. James Anderson Minister of the Gospell at London To the benefice of one of the deceas'd Doctor Duncan Liddell Doctor of Medicine his vaccant burse at the Marischall College of Aberdeen, And that for the space of four years Course at Philosophy in the said College, and to the ordinary benefice payable yearly out of the said Mortification, being fourteen bolls Victuall half meall half malt Conform to the Mortificat'n And appoints a Presentation to be granted to him in Common form.

It will be seen that he entered College in the year following the publication of the *Royal Genealogies* and two years after his father had received the D.D. degree. A manuscript volume in the possession of the Grammar School, Aberdeen, gives lists for the years 1692 to 1743 of some of the pupils of the School who went to Marischal College,[3] and in this list appears the name of James Anderson in 1733, showing that Dr. Anderson sent his son to be educated at the Aberdeen Grammar School prior to entering Marischal College. The Marischal College Records show that he obtained the degree of M.D. from that College on 22nd September, 1755, and that he was resident in Jamaica.

## *DR. ANDERSON'S D.D. DEGREE.*

Brother Sir Alfred Robbins has brought to our notice the following statement occurring in the *London Daily Courant* of Monday, May 17th, 1731:—

> We hear from Aberdeen that that University has lately conferred a Doctor's Degree in Divinity on Mr. James Anderson, Swallow Street, a gentleman well known for his extensive learning.

No proper record exists of the early degrees of D.D. granted by Marischal College. The difficulty of compiling records of students and graduates in those days is explained by Mr. P. J. Anderson in his *Records of Marischal College and University*:—

> The youngest of the Scottish Universities, Marischal College, is singular in possessing no continuous record of teachers or of students. Their names have had to be brought together from printed Theses, from occasional Matriculation rolls, from Chamber Maills accounts, from Diploma vouchers, from Presentations to bursaries by Town Council and Incorporated Trades, from Grammar School exit lists, and from other sources detailed at length below. Yet this lack of continuity is, to some extent at least, compensated for by the amount of information that can be obtained regarding the parentage of the alumni—for bursars from 1619, for all students from 1773—information such as prior to 1860 is not known to have been recorded in the archives of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, King's College and Edinburgh.[4]

1 *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 309.
2 Council Register, vol. 60, p. 338.
3 *Records of Marischal College and University*, vol. ii., p. 268.
4 *ib.*, vol. ii., p. vii.

The records of the other Aberdeen College—King's College—show that, during the last ten years of Dr. Anderson's life, degrees of D.D. were being conferred by its authorities upon dissenting ministers in England, six being conferred in 1728, two in 1732, and one in 1737. The recipient of one of the 1728 degrees was the Rev. Jabez Earle, the minister who conducted Dr. Anderson's funeral service.

Previous to the year 1739, when Dr. Anderson died, only five degrees of D.D. have been traced in the Marischal College Records—one in 1724, one referred to in the College accounts for the year ending Martinmas, 1733, and three in 1736.[1]

The 1724 degree is deduced from a payment for parchment for a diploma to "— Calder," presumed to be that of D.D.

The three degrees of 1736 were conferred upon:—

1. Philip Doddridge, dissenting minister, Northampton.
   (There is a voucher for payment of £4. 8/- for diploma.)
2. John Milner, dissenting minister, London.
3. Abraham Taylor, dissenting minister, Deptford (for which there is a diploma voucher).

All three are mentioned in the letter from Alexander Cruden afterwards referred to.

The fifth is the record of a D.D. Degree granted to some unknown person, as shown by the College accounts of the time. In the accounts for the financial year Martinmas (11th November), 1732, to Martinmas, 1733, there occurs the following entry:—

> To 20£ Sterline gifted by Principal Osborn to the College being the price of a Degree of Doctor of Divinity given by the College to . . . 240 (pounds Scots).

It will be noted that the name of the recipient of the degree is not stated.

Professor William Knight, who died in 1844, left a manuscript book, now in the University library, entitled "Collections regarding Marischal College," a compilation of various facts taken from the records. His note of this entry is very much a repetition of the above, with the addition of a note of his own, indicating that the degree was conferred on "an English divine." The entry reads as follows:—

> 1733. "Price of a Doctor of Divinity gifted to the College by Principal Osborn." £20 stg. or £240 Scots. He was "an English Divine."

From what source Professor Knight obtained the information as to the degree being conferred upon "an English divine" is not quite clear, but Professor Knight's statements are to be relied on.

There is also in the possession of the University a letter by Alexander Cruden,[2] author of the *Concordance*, then a bookseller in London, to Principal Osborne. This letter, written on 5th August, 1736, contains the following:—

> Rev. & D^r. Sir,
> I received on the 2d current Mr. Milner's Diploma with a Letter from Mr. Verner to Dr. Anderson & self. The Doctor has prevailed so far as to get 15£ for the Diploma which I received Yesterday, and he thinks he deserves for this and all his good Services a Couple of Pieces, and had a sort of a Promise from me to write you so much. . . .

Mr. Verner, it may be mentioned, was Professor of Philosophy at Marischal College at the time.

[1] *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 81.
[2] Alexander Cruden was born in Aberdeen in 1701; studied at Marischal College; went to London 1722; published *Concordance* in 1737; died November, 1770.

It will be seen from Cruden's letter that Dr. Anderson seems to have been acting as an intermediary on behalf of the University in arranging for the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon dissenting ministers in England, and it would appear that, for his services, he looked for some pecuniary recognition. As he was engaged in putting forward the claims of other ministers in England for degrees, it seems very probable that he would have managed to obtain a degree for himself, and it will be noted that Cruden, to whom the facts would have been known, in his letter to Principal Osborne, refers to him as "Dr. Anderson."

It was the custom at the time, as it still is, for any one receiving such a degree as D.D. to present to the University a copy of one of his books,[1] and Dr. Anderson presented to Marischal College a copy of his book, the *Royal Genealogies*, published in 1732. On the title-page he is described as "D.D.," and in his dedication of the book to Marischal College he added to his signature the letters D.D. It is significant that in none of his previous publications had he so described himself, and that the degree appears on the title-page of all his subsequent books.

It was also the custom, as shown by Cruden's letter and by numerous instances in the University records, for the recipient of an honorary degree to present a sum of money to the College. In the case of the degree above referred to, conferred upon a person unknown, a gift of £20 was made to the University, and Professor Knight indicates that the degree was conferred upon "an English divine." These words might apply to any clergyman in England at the time, and not necessarily to Dr. Anderson, but the facts are not inconsistent with the assumption that this was a gift by Dr. Anderson in recognition of his degree. The words "an English divine" are applicable to a Scottish minister resident in London, and there exists a contemporary reference in the *London Daily Courant* to a degree having been conferred upon Dr. Anderson shortly before 17th May, 1731. Also, in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, he is entered as "Dr. Anderson" for the first time on 24th June, 1731. At that time he was about to publish the results of seven years' labour and research in his book, the *Royal Genealogies*. He would naturally have been anxious to print it with the degree of D.D. on the title-page, and he was doubtless then, as he was later, as shown by Cruden's letter, well known to the heads of Marischal College. At least a year and a half elapsed between the notice in the *London Daily Courant* and the entry of the receipt of £20 in the College accounts, but it is not improbable, in view of what is known regarding Dr. Anderson's financial position, that some time should elapse between the granting of the degree and the remittance of the money.

Doubt has been expressed as to Dr. Anderson's right to have claimed the degree of D.D., but, as has been shown above, no proper records exist of the conferring of degrees of D.D. by Marischal College previous to 1739, when Dr. Anderson died. Such instances as have been ascertained are inferred from incidental references to such matters as payments for diplomas, and only five instances are known of the degree being conferred prior to 1739. It is shown by the records of three of these degrees that the authorities of Marischal College, during the latter years of Dr. Anderson's life, were conferring the degree of D.D. upon some of the dissenting ministers in England. Dr. Anderson, a minister of the Church of Scotland in London, had received his education at Marischal College, and, on his merits, would appear to have been entitled to consideration at the hands of his Alma Mater. Although the University records are insufficient to prove the granting of the degree to him, it may be assumed from the incompleteness of these records that, even though the degree above referred to, conferred upon "an English divine" was not Dr. Anderson's degree, he might still have obtained the degree from the University without any record

[1] The following sentence occurs in Cruden's letter relative to the granting of degree to Dr. Doddridge:—

> "He has ordered me to bind 3 or 4 volumes of his sermons in a very handsome manner for your library."

having survived, and, in the opinion of Mr. P. J. Anderson, the entry in the *London Daily Courant*, supported as it is by the facts stated above, may be accepted as correct.

## *WAS DR. ANDERSON A MEMBER OF THE LODGE OF ABERDEEN?*

When Dr. Anderson made out the Constitutions in 1723 he appears to have been familiar with Scottish Masonry, and to have incorporated into English Masonry several of the terms in use in Scottish Masonry at the time. It has accordingly been surmised that, probably before leaving his native town, he had become a member of the Lodge of Aberdeen. An examination of the Lodge records reveals no indication of this,[1] but the record of admission of intrants in Dr. Anderson's younger days cannot be relied upon as an accurate record of membership of the Lodge.

The Lodge of Aberdeen, No. 1[3], is one of the oldest of the Scottish Lodges, its written records dating back to the year 1670. There are two sources of information available as to the names of members of the Lodge at the time of Dr. Anderson's residence in Aberdeen:—

1. The "Mark Book," which contains a list of the members and apprentices of 1670 and of those subsequently admitted.
2. The Minute Book of the time, which contains, from 1696 onwards, lists of office bearers elected annually, and also from 1701, Minutes recording admissions of new members.

After 1701 the record of members admitted to the Lodge appears to be sufficiently reliable, but, before that year, discrepancies are numerous. The names of 49 members and 11 apprentices of the Lodge in 1670 are recorded in the Mark Book, but only 28 new members can be traced in the Mark Book and lists of office bearers between 1670 and the date when the Minutes commence in 1701, some of these names appearing only once—in the list of apprentices, in the list of full members, or in the list of office bearers. The incompleteness of the record can be inferred from the fact that, of these 28 names, 5 apprentices do not subsequently appear in the list of members, 12 members do not appear in the list of apprentices, and 5 of the office bearers elected during the years 1696-1701 are not recorded in the lists either of members or apprentices. Two lists of subscriptions due by members applicable to the years 1704 and 1705 have also survived amongst the Lodge papers, but, as shown by the amount of subscriptions credited in the Lodge accounts, they do not include the names of all the members of the Lodge. These two lists contain (excluding members and apprentices of 1670) 20 names applicable to the period before July, 1701, of which 11 are not recorded in the Mark Book or amongst the office bearers in the Minute Book.

The most important omission, however, bearing on the question whether Dr. Anderson was a member of the Lodge, is that there are no entries at all of new members in the Mark Book between 1694 and 1701, and, as the Minute Book contains no Minutes recording admissions prior to 1701, the Mark Book is the only Lodge record of intrants before that date. The records show that another Minute Book for the years 1679 to 1720 was at one time in possession of the Lodge, and admissions of intrants before 1701 were probably minuted in it. The record of admissions in the Minute Book which has survived commences on 26th July, 1701. Dr. Anderson would have been more than twenty-two years old at that date, and it will be seen that the years 1694-1701, in which no intrants to the Lodge are recorded, cover an important part of the period during which it would be likely that his name would appear, if he had been admitted a member before leaving Aberdeen. It may be concluded, therefore,

[1] A note of entry money paid by "James Anderson" appears in the Lodge accounts in 1732, but it is clearly money paid by a journeyman Mason of that name,

that Dr. Anderson might have joined the Lodge before July, 1701, and possibly after, without his name appearing in such Lodge records of the time as now remain.

Assuming, however, that Dr. Anderson did not become a member of the Lodge, he was the son of a Mason and would have gone to London with some knowledge of the Scottish Masonry of the time: he could not have failed, during his school and College days, to interest himself in the doings of the Craft in Aberdeen, of which his father was so active a member. Dr. Anderson's father, James Anderson, glazier, was Clerk to the Lodge in 1670, when its records commence, and it has been assumed that he continued to act as Clerk until 1725.[1] As he died in 1722, this is obviously incorrect. As the Clerk to the Lodge held office for an indefinite period, his name is not included in the annual lists of office bearers, and the only indication available is that afforded by a comparison of the writing in the Mark Book and Minute Book. The handwriting in the Mark Book indicates that James Anderson was Clerk to the Lodge for the twenty-four years from St. John's Day, 1670, to St. John's Day, 1694 (possibly with the exception of the year to St. John's Day, 1689, during which he was Master). William Moir signed the Balance Sheet for the year 1700 as Clerk, and the entries in the Minute Book from 1696 to 1706 are in his handwriting. At St. John's Day, 1706, however, James Anderson resumed the office of Clerk, and continued to act as such until St. John's Day, 1711; the handwriting during these years is the same as that of the writer of the Mark Book in 1670, and several of the Minutes are signed "James Anderson, Clerk." In 1711, he appears to have been succeeded by John Deans. Assuming the correctness of these deductions, the record of James Anderson as office bearer of the Lodge (as at St. John's Day) is:—Clerk, 1670 to 1694; Master, 1688; Master, 1694; Clerk, 1706 to 1711; Keymaster, 1716; Keymaster, 1719.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Lodge of Aberdeen was an interest in the life of James Anderson, glazier, for the long period of fifty years, and that he maintained an active connection with it until at least the year 1720. He was Clerk of the Lodge when Dr. Anderson was born, and continued in that office until his son was nearly sixteen years of age. He was Master of the Lodge in the following year, his son's first year at College, and, even although Dr. Anderson had not himself become a member, he would doubtless, when resident in Aberdeen, have had opportunities, through his father's connection with the Lodge, of examining the Mark Book, with its Lodge Rules and copy of the Old Charges engrossed in it by his father in 1670, and, on making out the *Constitutions*, would have been able, as Gould suggests,[2] to obtain extracts of the Aberdeen Lodge records.

Dr. Anderson must also have been familiar in his youth with many of the customs of the Aberdeen Masons. He refers to the Lodge of Aberdeen in the *Constitutions* of 1738, and, in that reference, mention is made of some of the customs of the old Scottish Masons:—

> The Fraternity of old met in Monasteries in foul Weather; but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St. John Evangelist's Day, and from thence walk'd in due Form to the Place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of the old Scots Masons, particularly of those in the antient Lodges of Killwinning, Sterling, Aberdeen, &c.[3]

It appears to have been the practice of the Aberdeen Masons in Dr. Anderson's time to hold their meetings in the open air. He was born in 1679, and the Aberdeen Lodge Rules of 1670 contain the regulation that "no Lodge be holden "within a dwelling house where there is people living in it, but in the open "fields, except it be ill weather"; also that "all entering Prentices be "entered in our ancient outfield Lodge . . . at the scounces at the Point

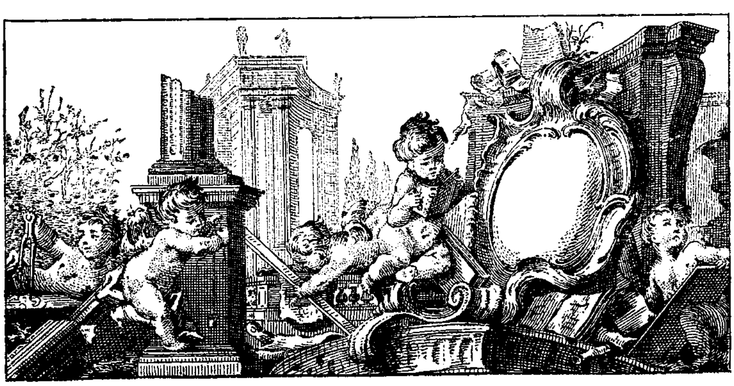
1 Gould: *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., p. 293.
2 *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., p. 292.
3 *The Constitutions of 1738*, p. 91.

"of the Ness," the "sconces" being earthworks or forts on the seashore. Up to the time when the Aberdeen Masons erected a Lodge for their use shortly after 1700, it may be assumed that they continued their custom, enjoined in the Lodge Rules of 1670, of meeting in the open and initiating their apprentices on the seashore. The holding of dinners to which Dr. Anderson also refers was an established custom of the Aberdeen Masons in his young days. The 1670 Lodge Rules enacted that every apprentice and fellow craft, on admission, should provide a dinner, and that, on St. John's Day, twelve shillings Scots should be collected from each member, the money to be spent as the Lodge should think fit for the honour of the day, which was to be kept "as a day of rejoicing and feasting."

The accompanying illustration from a print of 1732 shows Aberdeen very much as it was in Dr. Anderson's student days, a town of about 6,000 inhabitants,[1] isolated by its situation in the north-east of Scotland. The print is also of interest as showing the Lodge which the Masons erected upon the links of Aberdeen at a spot which would certainly have ensured privacy. According to the Lodge Accounts, the Masons bought the croft of land known as Futtiesmyre in 1700 at the time Dr. Anderson was a divinity student at Marischal College, and, shortly after acquiring the ground, erected their Lodge upon it.

It has been shown that Dr. Anderson would have had opportunities in his youth of acquiring some knowledge of Scottish Masonry, and that he may himself have become a member of the Lodge of Aberdeen. It was natural, accordingly, that he should interest himself in the revival of Masonry in London, which followed the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. The foundation of his interest in the Craft had been laid in Aberdeen.

[1] *Aberdeen, its Traditions and History*, by W. Robbie, p. 259.



# REVIEWS.

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THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FREEMASONS 1723: Reproduced in facsimile from the original edition: with an Introduction by Lionel Vibert I.C.S. (Retd.), Past Master of the Lodge of the Quatuor Coronati. Bernard Quaritch Limited 11 Grafton Street New Bond Street London 1923.

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THE two centuries which have passed since the publication of the *editio princeps* of the *Book of Constitutions* have witnessed many and startling changes in the affairs internal and external of our great Order. One such change, and a very important one, is the attitude of the Brotherhood towards the use of the printing press as a legitimate method of furthering its interests and promoting the causes to which its activities are devoted. The printed references to Freemasons and Freemasonry before the dawn of what we call the Grand Lodge era are so rare as to justify the belief that there was some well recognised law or custom which prohibited any and all recourse to such a mode of expression. Dr. James Anderson's book of 1723 was the first official printed publication ever issued by any branch of the Masonic Body, and the only earlier one at all comparable to it was the *Roberts Pamphlet* of the previous year, which, however, was not official, and in all probability was a private attempt to forestall Dr. Anderson, prompted by a distrust of innovations concerning which rumour had doubtless been busy since September of 1721. However great the faults of Anderson's work may be we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it was approved officially by Grand Lodge, both in manuscript and in print, even if certain portions of it met with strenuous opposition as well within that section of the Fraternity which acknowledged the jurisdiction of the recently created Grand Lodge, as also in that still greater section which as yet remained apart. In spite of this disfavour it was taken as a model by the second of Grand Lodges (Ireland) in 1730, was reprinted (apparently) in Dublin in 1725, in America (Philadelphia) by Benjamin Franklin in 1734, pirated in London by Smith in 1735 and 1736 and also in Dublin, and doubtless was read by members of all sections of the Craft at the time. Such a work, whatever its shortcomings, is not to be set aside as valueless, and, indeed, it is very much easier to err by an underestimation of the extent of its influence upon the development of our Order since the creation of a central governing body, than by an overestimation of the value of the light which it affords, especially when used in a properly critical spirit of caution.

To mark the bi-centenary of the publication, the justly famous house of Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., has issued an exact facsimile Reprint, which must necessarily become one of the most treasured possessions of those fortunate enough to secure a copy. The volume is a thing of beauty, in every respect worthy of the notable occasion of its issue, and honourable to the craftsmen who have been engaged in its production. There is a delightful *Foreword* signed with the well-known initials E.H.D., and a masterly *Introduction* by Lionel Vibert, and it is an open secret that it is to these two accomplished Past Masters of our Lodge that Masonic students throughout the world stand indebted for this most valuable addition to the literature of the Craft.

Bro. Lionel Vibert has made a special study of Dr. James Anderson and his works, and to no other Brother could the task of writing the *Introduction* have been entrusted with greater fitness, or with a more sure expectation of complete success. And in fact Bro. Vibert's contribution has enormously increased the value of the original book which he judges with such ruthless

precision, because, in the process, he supplies just exactly what is essential, namely, the many sign-posts needed to point out the pitfalls provided for the unwary in the Doctor's pages. The opinions which Bro. Vibert has formed concerning the man's literary work, more particularly his Masonic literary work, and also concerning the man himself, are definite and distinctly unfavourable. That the compiler of the first *Book of Constitutions* possessed but very mediocre literary attainments and was but ill equipped with the many and varied requisites for the successful carrying through of the none too easy task which he undertook, especially if he is to be judged by modern standards, has long been suspected and indeed recognised. Bro. Vibert, by his patient examination of the text, supplies the whole damning proof of the Doctor's incompetence and at the same time an antidote for the poison he—perhaps all *unintentionally*—dispensed with such a lavish hand.

The word unintentionally is here used and emphasized because there are some who will not so readily endorse the adverse verdict pronounced by Bro. Vibert concerning the man's character, as all must surely be willing to do while it is merely a question of the merit of the man's work. It is possible to be a desperately dull fellow, destitute of a sense of historical perspective, and unable to realise the responsibilities of editorship, and yet to be an honest man incapable of deliberate fraud and conscious imposture. The *Introduction* discloses certain matters which are, it is true, fully explained *if* we agree that Anderson was a rascal, but if they can reasonably be explained otherwise, then the Doctor is entitled to the benefit of the doubt. The whole question of Anderson's Grand Wardenship, and (arising out of it) the responsibility for an *addition* and an *erasure* in the first Minute Book of Grand Lodge (no doubt, as alleged, made by Anderson himself), turns upon whether the Duke of Wharton and his faction did or did not hold a clandestine meeting at Stationers Hall on the *Sunday*, 24th June, 1722, at which that nobleman was 'proclaimed' Grand Master. This is what Anderson describes as having actually happened, and if it did, then there is a possible explanation favourable to Anderson. But Bro. Vibert holds that there was no such meeting on the 24th, and is forced to *assume* that it was 'By oversight' that he (Anderson) places the gathering on the 24th, and that the meeting described was the regular assembly on the following day. The result of this assumption is that the Doctor's honesty is seriously impugned. Of course, Bro. Vibert's view may be right, but it is well to remember that actual proof that it is so has not been made out.

The points of interest raised by the *Introduction* are so varied and so numerous that it is impossible to refer to any except just the few upon which it may be permissible to add something to what its author has written.

The expression 'Constitutions,' which occurs in the title of the oldest of all Masonic *MSS.* (the *Regius* of fourteenth century) and is used by the London Company to describe their copies of the *Old Charges*, seems to have suggested no very clear or precise meaning to the minds of Desaguliers and Anderson. Originally a *MS.* of the *Constitutions*, *i.e.*, the actual Roll or document, served much the same purpose that the Lodge Warrant does to-day by providing a visible patent of authority to which the attention of new members might be directed. This can hardly have been the intention of Grand Lodge when it gave its official sanction to a printed *Book of Constitutions* which was advertised for sale to the public generally and was in fact the private property of its compiler. It is by no means clear to whom the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* is addressed. The 'General Regulations,' which are Payne's 'New Sett of Articles' of 24th June, 1721, 'digested into this new Method' by Anderson, are 'for the Use of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster.' This does not prove (as some think) that all the Freemasons and Lodges in the area named were at that time a united body of one mind; there is no reason to suppose any such thing, and the probability is strongly against it. Again, the Charges, which are apparently Anderson's own work 'extracted from the ancient Records of Lodges beyond Sea and of those in England,

Scotland and Ireland,' are 'for the Use of the Lodges in London'—a much more restricted circle, which may, however, be unintentional. But when we turn to the Title Page we find that the *whole work* apparently, History, Charges, and Regulations, is 'For the Use of the Lodges' without any limitation expressed or implied. It is, however, quite certain that there were Lodges and Freemasons in various parts of the country which had had no share in the creation of the G.L. and were by no means favourably disposed towards it, and never recognised its authority. There is evidence that new Lodges were formed which were similarly independent of G.L. control. As Bro. Vibert points out, the first provincial Lodges to come under the jurisdiction of the central governing body were those at the Queen's Head, Bath, and the Nag's Head, Bristol. These were not new Lodges, and judging by the Engraved List of 1734, their Time Immemorial status was tacitly acknowledged by the Grand Lodge. It would be interesting to know how far (if at all) such Lodges, when they accepted a place upon the Roll of G.L., consented to make any considerable change in their traditions, customs, and usages.

It is a curious fact that of the known *MS.* copies of the *Old Charges* about one quarter were written later than 1717. There were also printed versions (*Roberts*, *Briscoe*, *Cole*, and *Dodd*) ranging from 1722 to 1739. Why were these *MSS.* and printed copies produced in such profusion? It is at least a possible explanation that they were for use in Lodges independent of the G.L., where the innovations (including that in Charge I.) revealed in Anderson's book did not find favour. At p. xxxiii. of the *Introduction* we read:—

> "it would be unwise to lay any stress at all on the change of phraseology in the First Charge of the 1738 edition . . . or on the reference now introduced to Christian Masons. This is not an attempt on the part of G.L. to meet objections to the original Charge."

It is, however, likely that some will hold a precisely opposite opinion. At more than one point the author of the *Introduction* appears to lose sight of the fact that whatever changes or innovations or breaches of custom and procedure were perpetrated in the first *Book of Constitutions* it was Grand Lodge as a body (and not Anderson or any other individual) which was ultimately responsible for their appearance in print. Anderson tells us that on the 27th December, 1721, fourteen learned Brothers were appointed to examine his Manuscript and to make a Report concerning it. On the 25th March, 1722, this Report was received to the effect that 'after some Amendments' the Committee of fourteen had approved of his work, 'Upon which the Lodge desir'd the Grand Master to order it to be printed.' On 17th January, 1723, the Doctor submitted his book 'now in Print,' and it was 'again approv'd, with the Addition of the antient 'Manner of Constituting a Lodge.' Nor is this responsibility of Grand Lodge lessened because later advantage was taken of a technical irregularity (see p. xxxv.) to repudiate or repeal certain parts.

At pp. xix.-xx. there is an instructive and interesting examination of the somewhat difficult question whether the text of the Spencer Family (including the *Inigo Jones MS.*) in its present form is earlier or later than Anderson's History. The conclusion arrived at is that, whatever the truth may be as to date, neither version of the Masonic story owes anything to the other, and the somewhat startling coincidence that the supposed name of the Master Builder is disclosed in each version at about the same time is sufficiently accounted for by the circumstance that the name was of particular significance to the Craft in 1722, if not earlier. It may, however, be added that the first appearance of the name in print at this time is no sure indication that its first association with Freemasonry was a recent phenomenon, although it has been confidently claimed as such. Further on (p. xlix.) Bro. Vibert deals with Anderson's 'mystery tags,' which suggest that there are matters where more extended reference is not expedient, those at pp. 4, 8, 9, 13, and 29 being mentioned. The one which occurs at p. 13 refers not to the Tabernacle as stated, but to the Temple. Bro. Vibert dismisses these curious phrases somewhat easily as

void of any possible significance, and he ignores entirely what is in reality the most important of all, that which is found on pp. 26-27:—

> ". . . and a vast many other Craftsmen that could be nam'd, who perform according to *Geometry*, and the Rules of *Building;* though none since HIRAM ABIF has been renown'd for *Cunning* in all parts of Masonry: And of this enough."

It is strange that Bro. Vibert should have overlooked this remarkable passage. The reintroduction of the name of the Master Builder is so entirely uncalled for at this point in the Doctor's narrative that one is led to search for some clue to what was in his mind when he to all appearances deliberately made it.

Bro. Vibert attaches some importance to the point that (in his opinion) only one of the figures shown in the Frontispiece standing behind the Duke of Wharton is habited as a clergyman. But it happens that of the one furthest from the front nothing is visible except an exceedingly dismal countenance and a very small portion of neck, or rather chest, and this might just as well be intended to represent a Presbyterian Minister (Anderson) as an Operative Mason (Hawkins). In connection with the Figure of the 47th Proposition of Euclid shown on the Frontispiece, is it necessary to conclude that Anderson was so ignorant as to confuse the two well known stories of Pythagoras and Hiero of Syracuse? Surely he is merely repeating a current Masonic tradition that the 'amazing Proposition' was 'call'd by Masons his Heureka because they think it was his own Invention.' There is no reason to charge even the 'Masons' with confusing the two stories, they called the Proposition Pythagoras's 'Heureka,' just as the happy thought about Specific Gravity or Density was the other man's 'Heureka.'

It is certainly strange that, whereas Anderson professes to have extracted the *Charges* from the ancient Records of Lodges beyond Sea, and of those in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the last-named country is rather pointedly left out in the *Approbation*, which is, of course, extended to the whole book. Discussing this point, Bro. Vibert (p. xxv.) has occasion to mention Robert Samber's *Long Livers* (1722), and, referring to the Dedication of that work, says that it was known in London that Freemasonry existed in Ireland at that time, but 'the implication that it was under the same Grand Master, Montagu, is probably unwarranted.' This has been previously noticed and has been considered sufficient to prove that Samber knew nothing or next to nothing about Freemasonry:—

> "The dedication being to the Grand Master, &c., of Great Britain and Ireland, when no such officer has ever existed, does not say much for the Masonic knowledge of the author, Robert Samber." (Hughan, *Origin of the English Rite*, 1909, p. 67.)

The full wording of this Dedication is:—

> "To the Grand Master, Masters, Wardens and Brethren, of the Most Antient and most Honourable Fraternity of the Free Masons of Great Britain and Ireland."

If Samber had really been under the impression that the Duke of Montagu was the Masonic Ruler of 'Great Britain and Ireland' he would probably have mentioned that nobleman by name. It is possible that he did not intend the words 'of Great Britain and Ireland' to refer backwards to the Grand Master (as, of course, strictly speaking they do), but meant them to refer only to the 'Fraternity of the Free Masons.'

No student who reads Bro. Vibert's *Introduction* to the Bi-Centenary Reprint with care and attention can fail to appreciate its great value even if here and there he finds himself at variance with the opinions it puts forward with such persuasive force. All will readily agree that it is a notable con-

tribution to the study of what is probably the most important, but is certainly the most obscure, period in our Masonic history, the early years of the premier Grand Lodge.

J. E. S. Tuckett.

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## OFFICIAL HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE IN NORTH AMERICA.

*By Wm. H. Grimshaw. New York [1903].*

Although this book is now more than twenty years old, it seems to be quite unknown in this country. It has been brought to my notice by the courtesy of a member of one of the Negro organizations in the United States.

As might be expected, the book is mainly concerned with a discussion about the legitimacy of Masonic origin and descent amongst the Coloured people in that part of the Western hemisphere; and of the validity or otherwise of the decisions of non-recognition and non-intercourse which have been arrived at by the various white Grand Lodges there.

With this second point I do not propose to deal. It is not a matter which calls for intervention by the Grand Lodge of England or its members. To some extent views on the subject have appeared in our *Transactions* in a paper in Vol. xiii. (1900), entitled "Prince Hall's Letter Book," written by Bro. W. H. Upton, a Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Washington, and for a number of years our Local Secretary in that State. Bro. Upton was a keen supporter of the Negro claims for Masonic recognition, and his efforts resulted for a time in partial success, but at the end in entire failure.

Before dealing with the first point of the subject, I may say that the Author of the book does not display a very intimate or correct knowledge of the History of Freemasonry in general, and in some instances he seems either to have consulted unreliable authorities or to have misunderstood the statements he has read.

An instance of what appears to be over-credulity may be quoted from p. 35, where we find:—

> In 1649 the following resolution was passed:
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> > "*Resolved*, That the privilege of Masonry shall no longer be confined to operative Masons, but be free to men of all professions, provided that they are regularly approved and initiated into the fraternity by the Master of St. Paul's Lodge, York, England."
>
> At this meeting R. W. Bro. Anthony Sayre was elected M. W. Grand Master.

Now it is generally accepted that Anthony Sayer was elected Grand Master in 1717. Anyway he died in 1742, and he would thus have been well over 120 years old if it were true that his Grand Mastership dated from 1649. Furthermore, there is something wrong about the mysterious resolution of that year, for "St. Paul's Lodge, York, England," is surely a fable.

Another, perhaps excusable, mistake is a confusion between the titles Pro Grand Master and Provincial Grand Master, with the amazing conclusion that a Provincial Grand Master can only be appointed when the Chair of Grand Lodge is filled by a Prince of the Blood Royal.

The pioneer of Negro Masonry in the U.S.A. was one Prince Hall, of whose early life and Masonic initiation Bro. Upton was unable to give any particulars. We are, however, told in this book that he was "a Mason and preacher in the seventeenth century," a statement that must be read in

conjunction with the further information that he was born in 1748 at Bridgetown, Barbados, that he was there apprenticed to a leather worker, that he worked his passage to Boston in 1765, and that he was initiated early in 1775 in a British Military Lodge No. 58. This Lodge could only have been No. 58 of the Antients, warranted in 1759 in the 14th Regiment of Foot. The Regiment may have been in Boston in 1775. In the following year it was in Florida. In March, 1775, fifteen other Negroes are said to have been initiated in the same Lodge, and four months later they, with Prince Hall at their head, formed a coloured Lodge in Boston, under (as is stated) a permit or dispensation from No. 58. In 1784 the members petitioned the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) for a Warrant, and this was granted on 29th September of that year, the Lodge being named the African Lodge with the No. 459. This Warrant is said to be still in existence, and assuming that it is a correct transcript which appears in the book, we may take it that it was in the form common at the period, no special or extraordinary powers or privileges being granted to the petitioners.

In 1797 some coloured Masons in Philadelphia, who are said to have been admitted in English Lodges, petitioned Prince Hall for a Warrant, and he formed them into what was in effect a branch of his African Lodge No. 459, with the same name and number. This point should be carefully noted. Prince Hall says "we are willing to set you at work under our Charter and Lodge No. 459 from London; under that authority and by the name of African Lodge we . . . give you license to assemble and work."

Other Lodges were subsequently constituted in various States, and Grand Lodges were formed, but with these we are not now concerned. Their history seems to be mainly a record of quarrels, schisms, and re-unions. In one case certain members were expelled "for their bad conduct and misdemeanours for the term of ninety nine years, nine months, nine weeks, and nine days."

It is by no means clear when Prince Hall first assumed the title of Grand Master. A chronological list of coloured Grand Masters places him in that position from 1775 until his death in 1807, but that claim is obviously untenable, for 1775 is the presumed date of his initiation. The statement is made elsewhere that a Grand Lodge for Massachusetts, with Prince Hall as Grand Master, was formed in June, 1791, but as has been shewn, the privileges of a Grand Master were not claimed by him when the Philadelphia Lodge was formed six years later.

In this same year, 1791, a "Deputation" is said to have been issued by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) appointing Prince Hall "Provincial Grand Master of North America and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging," and it is this document which provides perhaps the most interesting section of the book. The statements regarding it are entirely new to me and to other English Masons with whom I have discussed the question. It is not recorded in the books of Grand Lodge here, nor is there any entry therein of the payment of £10 or so as was usual on the issue of such Patents. It was evidently unknown to Bro. Upton even so late as 1902, when he published the second (and latest) Edition of his *Negro Masonry*, yet in the following year, 1903, we find it printed in full without any special remark as to its importance, and as if the fact of its existence had always been known. As I understand the statements, the original "Deputation" is not now available for examination, and the print was made from a *copy* which was found (at some time not stated) amongst the papers of a certain Peter Richmond, the first Secretary of the Philadelphia Lodge constituted in 1797; and the Author adds: "There is no doubt but what Prince Hall gave them a copy of his authority when he established the Lodge in 1797." He certainly did give them a copy of his authority to constitute, or what he considered to be his authority, namely, the Warrant for the original African Lodge No. 459. It is most remarkable that if he had in his hands the "Deputation" which purports to give full authority to constitute new Lodges he should ignore this entirely, and assume powers from

the Warrant which was merely his authority for holding his original Lodge. It is possible that during the past twenty years further information has come to light on this interesting question. If so I hope it will be communicated to us. Meanwhile I can only feel and express grave doubts as to the genuineness of the document.

July, 1924. W. J. SONGHURST.

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## SECRET SOCIETIES AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS.

*By Nesta H. Webster. Boswell Printing & Publishing Co. 1924.*

The first chapter of this book, on the Ancient Secret Tradition, gives a somewhat meagre account of the Mysteries but furnishes one interesting observation. "Early masonic tradition traces Freemasonry partly to Pythagoras, who is said to have travelled in England." Early Masonic tradition may, perhaps, have made such a claim, but what evidence can be produced to support it? There is no reason why Pythagoras should not have so travelled, though there must have been some slight difficulty in arranging transport. Probably some confusion has arisen between Pythagoras, who may never have visited Britain, and Pytheas, who certainly did so with a view of opening up a new trading district.

Then we have a discussion on the Jewish Cabala, Talmud, Sepher Yetzirah, Sepher-Ha-Zohar, and so on. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that the ancient, the mediæval, and probably the modern Jews are a very bad lot. They formed a small race numerically, a persecuted race, and were, as they are still, a rather more intellectual race than their persecutors. In the early years of the Christian era, not having much opportunity in any other way, they seem to have taken the only way of retaliation open to them by saying nasty and unkind things about the rest of the world, not all being untrue. The writer appears to find a great amount of comfort in the repetition of the words Cabala, &c., just as, it will be remembered, did the old lady derive much consolation and moral support from the blessed word Mesopotamia.

Then there follows an inadequate account of the Gnostics and Manicheeism, of which in Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* there is a far better summary recently available. The idea that these sects, which arose by the score, were deliberately designed attempts to pervert Christianity, does more credit to the imagination than to the intelligence. Even to-day there are people setting up little bethels of their own, but Christianity goes on as usual. Sometimes the sect survives, but the ordinary course of events shews a steady process of inanition and decay.

Chapter II.—The Revolt against Islam—gives a short account of the Sunnis and Shiahs. Apparently, the subversive sects having done all that was necessary to upset the Christians and orthodox Jews, turned their attention to the affairs of the Mohammedans, who must have felt extremely pleased at this mark of their favour. "We shall now see this attempt, reduced by gradual stages to a working system of extraordinary efficiency, organised for the purpose of undermining all moral and religious beliefs in the minds of Moslems." If this means anything at all, there ought to be in existence some means of proving it one way or another. Where, what and why was the organisation? One cannot help feeling that a steady course of contact with the modern civilisation as developed in London, Paris and New York will rapidly undermine "all moral and religious beliefs in the minds of Moslems" without the deep laid plots of any organised body.

Chapter III. deals with the Knights Templar, who appear to be the collective villain of the piece. The ordinary evidence of history shews that Philippe le Bel acted with great care, and after many years of preparation, in the simultaneous arrest throughout France of the Templars. The evidence

also shews that Pope Clement V. was a party to the proceedings from the beginning. "The character of the Templars is not rehabilitated by condemning the conduct of the King and Pope." This is fairly obvious, as is also the converse. "The fact that confessions are made under torture does not necessarily invalidate them as evidence." Whatever the law may have been four hundred years ago it *does* under the present English Law, when a prisoner is cautioned before making even a voluntary statement. The next paragraph, however, if carried to its logical conclusion, would bring back all the barbarous methods of bygone years and would afford much delight to the casuist of any denomination. "Torture, however much we may condemn it, has frequently proved the only method for overcoming the intimidation exercised over the mind of a conspirator." So that the use of the playful instruments of old was not only justifiable but even laudable. The gem of paragraphic gems to anyone who has studied the history of that period is not attributable to the author, but is a quotation from Funck-Brentano's *Le Moyen Age.* "Philippe le Bel has never been understood; from the beginning people have not been just to him. This young prince was one of the greatest kings and the noblest characters that have appeared in history." When you do put it on, it is as well to put it on thickly. We have more or less successfully whitewashed Tiberius, we know that Nero was a respectable family man, and it is no longer a sign of feeblemindedness to assert that "The Prince of darkness is a gentleman." Nevertheless, it is the general verdict of history that Philip the Fair was not a desirable man to negotiate with, he was so apt at getting the best of the bargain; his morals were, perhaps, no better and no worse than were current, but he could hardly be described as a pattern for imitation by the youth of his own day. If we could only clear our minds of cant and forget that we were dealing with a King and a Pope, we should have a better chance of estimating what really happened. Now Boniface VIII., Clement's predecessor, had committed a variety of crimes, and some proofs of these were in Philip's hands. It was looked upon by Philip and Clement as a fair deal that the King should have his way with the Templars whilst Boniface's reputation remained unassailed by anyone of importance. In addition the 'Babylonish Captivity,' 1305-1377, at Avignon placed the papal affairs practically in the hands of France. The Templars had committed the great crime of being wealthy; furthermore, Philip had long since made up his mind about his policy. From his time dates that policy which has governed France ever since, the policy of centralisation. The power, the money, the broad lands, and the armed forces of the Templars, stood in his way, and in due course he struck and achieved his purpose. The author believes that the Templars were guilty of various things, but no evidence that an English Court of Law would listen to, is brought forward. Philip was an adept at the 'confidence trick,' and saw that everything was done as it ought to be done; his stage management was well nigh perfect, so that the historian's opinion is based upon error—"a theory which on examination is seen to be built up entirely on the plan of imputing motives without any justification in facts." The whole of this work is supported and built up on a series of imputations and surmises, hence one may, perhaps, be pardoned for murmuring: "A Daniel, still say I, a second Daniel!"

The next part concerns the continuity of the Templar body, and the only point worth mentioning is that there is no continuity. The Charter of Larmenius is spurious, and the list is not worth bothering about. It is abundantly evident that the author has got a theory that the Rosicrucians and the Templars founded Freemasonry, probably as a sort of side-line to the mystical and other activities which were their real objects, in this life, at any rate. This theory is a nice one, and quite pretty to look at, but, sad to relate, the stern facts of the case do not fit in with the theory. The author's method of dealing with such a condition of affairs is very simple—if the facts do not agree with a theory, so much the worse for the facts. The outcome of this attitude of mind is that if the facts fit the theory, well and good, and they are decent and self-respecting facts, worthy of implicit belief. On the other

hand, if the facts and the theory are at variance, bother the facts, let us think of something else.

The parts most enjoyable are those suggesting the existence of a few intellectual chiefs, whose principal end and aim seems to have been so to poison some estimable people in what appears a very clumsy and casual way, that the maximum of inconvenience and risk with the minimum death rate resulted. A really scientific poisoner who loves his work and likes to do his job in an efficient way would never have been so long about it as these amateurs were, nor would he have been at so much pains to leave such a lot of easy means of identifying the criminal. The chain of reasoning is about as feeble as anything we have come across. The Rosicrucians knew most things, obviously this includes poisons, "The art of poisoning was therefore known to the Rosicrucians"—the "therefore" is distinctly good—"and, although there is no reason to suppose it was ever practised by the heads of the Fraternity, it is possible that the inspirers of the poisoners may have been perverted Rosicrucians"! This sort of thing is childish and devoid of any sense.

The Origins of Freemasonry, the Grand Lodge Era, German Templarism and French Illuminism do not call for any particular comment, except when theories are allowed to override facts; and an astonishing and new version of the history of Frederick the Great of Prussia is presented, for it appears that he ran a campaign of a novel type, with the able and disinterested assistance of Voltaire. We can only say, very nice, very nice indeed, and go on to the next chapter, where we meet again our *not* long lost brethren, the Jewish Cabalists. It has already been mentioned that the old ones were a very bad lot. Their descendants have gone on being bad; badness apparently suits them, it brings out their best and brightest characteristics.

Chapter IX. is on the Bavarian Illuminati and Weishaupt, to whom life was a game of intrigue, in which a diplomatic victory meant everything. It is to be supposed that a diplomatist may be a good husband and an indulgent father, and even politicians have their uses, and may, perchance, be men of a high grade of morality, but the Bavarian Illuminati chiefly existed on their own estimate of their capacity to make thrills. As nothing very much happened, it looks as if we were flogging a dead horse. The way these men conspired was like that seen in an opera of Italian origin. The members of the chorus, *sotto voce*, mention what they are going to do, whilst the unfortunate beings to be conspired against try not to listen, in order not to spoil the action of the play. The whole thing was a gorgeous farce, at a prodigious waste of ink and paper, but not to be taken too seriously.

Chapter X. deals with the Climax, in which the Illuminati, with the Jews acting in collusion, probably in conjunction with a few casual causes not worth alluding to, *e.g.*, a bad system of government, and so on, brought about the French Revolution.

We then come to Part II., dealing with Modern Freemasonry and Continental Masonry to begin with. The English Freemasonry meets with the approval of the author. Chapter XI., on Secret Societies, is concerned with Women as Masons, Theosophy, and Mrs. Besant. "Co-masonry is a hybrid system deriving from two conflicting sources—the political and rationalist doctrines of the Maçonnerie Mixte and the Eastern occultism of Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant." This is succeeded by a disquisition on Rosicrucianism which looks as if some one had a very gifted imagination, with a corresponding charming confidence in the world in general.

Chapter XIII. is concerned with Open Subversive Movements, *i.e.*, Socialism, Communism, Bolshevism, in which somehow the Grand Orient is involved, together with a World Revolution, Freudian Psycho-Analysis, Birth Control, Esperanto, all directed by one invisible group of *real* initiates.

Chapter XIV. deals with Pan-Germanism. The general idea is that there are three influences at work: (1) Pan-Germanic, (2) Jewish, (3) Anti-Christian.

Chapter XV. is on The Real Jewish Peril. It is demonstrated that the modern Jew relies not on the Bible but on the Talmud, and, of course, the Cabala. The argument is continued in the Conclusion that an organised attempt is being made for the destruction of the present System of Society.

This is a disappointing book consisting of a farrago of undigested nonsense combined with occasional glimpses of common sense. The tales of a Hidden Hand, of Concealed Superiors, and so on, are worthy of the most shocking of shilling shockers. Assertion is not proof, and a sober historical writer should not indulge in hypotheses incapable of verification. "What is Truth?" said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer.

September, 1924. JOHN STOKES.

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## THE OLD CHARGES.

*By W.Bro. The Rev. Herbert Poole.. . . . The Masonic Record Ltd. . . . London. . . . 1924.*

When a Freemason first becomes aware of the existence of the Old Charges *MSS.* he is naturally impressed by the fact that we possess unimpeachable Masonic documents four and even five centuries old. But should he light upon a facsimile reproduction of an early one—say the *Regius* or the *Cooke*—the chances are that he will not be able to make out more than a word or two here and there. Even with a transcript in modern type, to read the whole will tax his patience, and he will be an exceptional man if he is able to appreciate the meaning and real value of what he reads. Although the O.C. *MSS.* are all *substantially* the same, the young student soon learns that the study of the differences, and all that arises out of those differences, constitutes an important branch of Masonic Archæology. To the average enquirer the subject is one which, especially at the outset, presents enormous difficulty, and the want of a sufficiently elementary and yet sufficiently explanatory handbook or guide has long been felt. This has now been supplied by the publication of the admirable little volume now under review.

The paper, type, and binding are excellent, and the price, 2s. 6d., moderate, and the Fraternity is beholden to *The Masonic Record, Ltd.*, for the issue of this and other works in the same series.

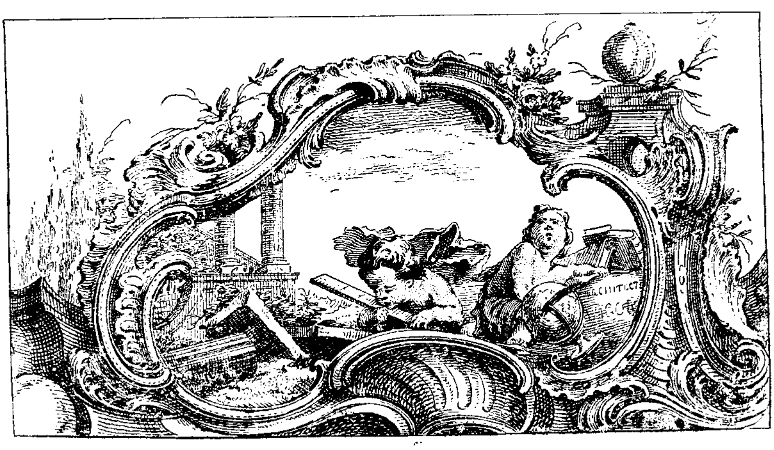
The author's name is a guarantee that the contents will be found worthy of the interest and importance of his subject, for Bro. Poole is acknowledged to be the leading authority upon all that relates to the Old Charges. The book is a remarkable example of how *much* can be contained in how *little*, for in fifty-eight by no means closely printed pages, there is information upon almost every point that arises, or the clue which will lead to it.

The Introduction explains what the O.C. *MSS.* are and whets the reader's appetite by a promise to indicate the problems which are presented by them and the more important conclusions already reached. The method or methods of Classification are next clearly explained, and the work of Bros. Hughan, Begemann, Gould, and Vibert described. A table of descent of the later *MSS.* is a new and welcome contribution to the subject. The List of all known versions is packed with information and will prove invaluable as a handy reference. At Chapter IV. we begin to realise the benefit of having for guide one who is really an expert. In brief but clear terms we are told *why* these *MSS.* were written, and *how* they were used—for Ritual purposes, as Constitutions, and as the equivalent of our modern 'Warrant.' It should be noted that the 'Historical' part was omitted in the 1815 edition of the printed *Book of Constitutions*, and not in 1841 as stated on p. 24. There is also a discussion as to *who* used the *MSS.*—Operatives or Speculatives? Perhaps the criticism is needless, but it seems that here the author draws rather a sharp

distinction, and that his words might almost lead the 'beginner' to suppose that there were two separate and distinct Societies in the *pre*-Grand Lodge period of the Masonic Order. The next chapter shows how the O.C. afford light upon the Craft Legends, and reveals how much remains still to be done before the task is complete. A note on the much debated 'Assembly' follows. The curious problems presented by the 'Apprentice Charge,' apparently late in date yet Operative in character, and the so-called 'New Articles,' peculiar to one set of *MSS.* (the *Roberts* Family, of late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) occupy Chapter VI. In his Conclusion Bro. Poole points out directions in which work may be carried on, such as further examination of the extent to which the O.C. contain references to or germs of Ritual procedure, their connection with the Miracle Plays, comparison with the records of Trade Gilds, textual investigation, place of origin and history of individual Manuscripts, and so forth. In this brief chapter the more mature student will find many valuable hints to guide him in the choice of a subject. There are two Appendices, the first being a complete transcript of a recent discovery, the *Holywell MS.* of 1748-9, the second a Bibliographical Note, which last might with advantage have been extended.

It is not too much to say that Bro. Poole's work is of outstanding merit, and that only the discovery of very much new material can lessen its practical value to students young and old.

January, 1925. J. E. S. Tuckett.



# OBITUARY.

IT is with regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**George Carter,** of Armley, Leeds, on 16th February, 1923. Our brother was a member of Goderich Lodge No. 1211, and Treasurer of Prudence Chapter No. 2069. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1912.

Rev. **Frederick Charles Guise Cass-Tewart,** of Bournemouth, on 13th February 1923. A member of St. Cuthberga Lodge No. 622, and of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1888.

**Hugh George Chapman,** of Hull, in 1922. A Past Master of the Lord Bolton Lodge No. 3263. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

**W. B. Hammond,** of Berrow, Hereford, in 1922. Bro. Hammond had held the office of Pr.G.W., for Worcestershire, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

**George John Hide,** of Buenos Aires, on 27th March, 1923. Our brother was a member of Excelsior Lodge No. 617, and had been attached to our Correspondence Circle since June, 1901.

**John Jauncey,** of London, on 12th January, 1923. Bro. Jauncey was a member of the Islington Lodge No. 1471, and a member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1898.

**Harry Manfield,** M.P., of Northampton, on 9th February, 1923. Our brother had held the office of Grand Treasurer in Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter. His membership of our Correspondence Circle commenced in May, 1889.

**Henry Thwaites Manwaring,** of Tunbridge Wells, on 13th March, 1923. A Past Master of Cranbrook Lodge No. 2660. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1914.

**George Benjamin Mardle,** of Leytonstone, London, E., on 29th December, 1922. Bro. Mardle was a Past Master of the City of London Lodge No. 901, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1913.

**Cecil Hume Nicholl,** of Cambridge, on 22nd December, 1922. Our brother was a member of the Scientific Lodge and the Chapter of Pythagoras No. 88. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1909.

**Joseph James Pickford,** of Sheffield, on 29th December, 1922. He was a member of Wentworth Lodge No. 1239, and Paradise Chapter No. 139. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Sir **John Pringle,** K.C.M.G., of Jamaica, on 15th March, 1923, aged 74. Bro. Pringle held the office of District Grand Master, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1910.

**William Henry Roberts,** of Mendoza, Argentina. A Past Master of Aconcagua Lodge No. 3489. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1917.

**John Paul Rylands,** F.S.A., of Birkenhead, on 22nd March, 1923. A Founder and member of the Lodge until his death. Also a member of the Lodge of Lights No. 148, and Marquis of Lorne Lodge No. 1354.

**Henry Gordon Small,** of Peebles, Scotland, in 1921. Our brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner of England. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1897.

**Maurice E. Solomons,** J.P., of Dublin, in June, 1922. Brother Solomons held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Chief Scribe of Ireland. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1901.

**William Henry Staynes,** of Leicester, on 20th December, 1922. Our brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B. in the Craft and P.Pr.G.Sc.N. in Royal Arch. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1902.

**Hugh Robert Warneford-Thomson,** of Buenos Aires, on 24th July, 1922. A Past Master of Excelsior Lodge No. 617, and member of Masefield Chapter No. 617. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in 1909.

**William Watson,** of Ross, Herefordshire, on 28th February, 1923. Bro. Watson was Past Master of Vitruvian Lodge No. 338, and P.Z. of Palladian Chapter No. 120. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1911.

**John Macfarlane Wilson,** of Durban, early in 1923. A member of Etekwini Lodge No. 2623, and of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1901.

## FRIDAY, 4th MAY, 1923.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E. Lancs., W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, S.D.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, P.M.

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. A. R. Littledale, John Church, W. C. B. Mullett, R. H. S. Roberts, W. J. Williams, E. A. Hudson, H. Hyde, G. E. W. Bridge, A. Presland, Arthur Heiron, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Ed. M. Phillips, J. Walter Hobbs, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., G. S. Collins, P.A.G.D.C., Sydney Hogg, B. Telepneff, J. F. H. Gilbard as I.G., E. B. Cozens-Brooke, E. Ferrer, R. C. Foster, G. W. Richmond, G. Derrick, J. D. Hunter, Geo. E. Gregory, E. W. Marson, R. F. S. Colsell, A. T. Curtler, P. H. Horley, Eric Lofting, Fredk. Bare, F. T. James, L. G. Wearing, W. D. Smith, C. H. Candler, S. W. Rodgers, R. W. Ferris, R. Wheatley, Ivor Grantham, C. F. Sykes, Geo. W. Bullamore, H. A. Matheson, J. Lawrance, B. R. James, H. McLachlan, and B. F. Barker.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. Tucker, W.M., Arcadian Lodge No. 2696; R. Wyman, Isca Lodge No. 683; Thos. Humphreys, P.M., Hope and Unity Lodge No. 214; G. O. Eames, Coronation Lodge No. 2898; E. A. Nicholson, S.D., Macdonald Lodge No. 1216; F. M. Gilder, Sec., Chaucer Lodge No. 1540; and F. C. E. Dominick, Moira Lodge No. 92.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; Dr. John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., W. Yorks., J.D.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, I.G.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; and W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.

Five Lodges and forty-three Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Worshipful Master read the following

### IN MEMORIAM.

### JOHN PAUL RYLANDS

(1846—1923).

Since we last met this Lodge has sustained the loss of another of its founders in the person of Bro. John Paul Rylands, leaving of the original nine only our distinguished first Master, R.W. Bro. Sir Charles Warren, still with us.

Bro. J. P. Rylands, the elder brother of our still better-known Brother

W. Harry Rylands, was born in 1846, and, having adopted the law as his profession, he became a barrister on the Northern Circuit, from which, however, he retired many years before his death, which occurred with dramatic suddenness in Lord Street, Liverpool, on the 22nd of March last.

Our late Brother was an eminent authority on all archæological subjects, but particularly on genealogy and heraldry. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, President of the Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire, a past President of the Liverpool Athenæum, and a Vice-President of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

As an author, Bro. Rylands had produced such works as "An Account of the Holcroft Family," "Arms in Warrington Church," "Lancashire Inquisitions Post Mortem," "Cheshire and Lancashire Funeral Certificates," "Visitations of Chester and of Dorset, 1623," "Genealogies of the Families of Bate and Kirkland and of Culcheth and Risley," and numerous pamphlets and papers on kindred subjects. His paper on "The Armorial Bearings of the City of Liverpool," read before the Historic Society in 1890, was admittedly the standard treatise on the subject.

Initiated into Freemasonry in the Faith and Unanimity Lodge No. 417, Dorchester, in 1872, Bro. Rylands had completed his Masonic Jubilee some months before his end. He subsequently joined the Marquis of Lorne Lodge No. 1354, at Leigh, in Lancashire, in 1879, and the Lodge of Lights No. 148, Warrington, in 1880. His exaltation took place in the Elias Ashmole Chapter No. 148, Warrington.

Owing to his other activities and interests our deceased Brother never seems to have made much progress in the Craft. He had the somewhat remarkable record of never having attended a meeting of this Lodge, but, notwithstanding all this, he took a deep interest in our welfare, and was always ready to place his special talents at the disposal of any of our members. When in town he called occasionally at our offices and consulted our Secretary about the well-being of the Lodge. Bro. Rylands' portrait appeared in *A.Q.C.* v., 151.

To our Brother's bereaved widow and family we tender our most sincere sympathy.

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A vote of congratulation was accorded to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who received Honours at the Festival of Grand Lodge held in April:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, Past Grand Warden; Rev. Preb. G. H. Perry, M.A., Grand Chaplain; George Whittington (West Yorkshire), Junior Grand Deacon; S. B. Wilkinson (Northamptonshire), Past Grand Deacon; Major T. G. L. Lumley Smith, D.S.O., Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies; J. F. G. Pietersen (Staffordshire), Leonard Denny, J. A. Macdonald, M.D. (Somerset), and J. C. Mitchell, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; F. W. Brazil, N. W. Davies, Robert H. McLeod, and G. L. Shackles (N. & E. Yorkshire), Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Lieut.-Col. S. Chatfeild-Clarke and James Anderson, M.D. (Northumberland), Assistant Grand Sword Bearers; Stanley W. Rodgers, Wm. F. O. Shove and William Taylor, Grand Stewards.

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Bro. Lepper kindly exhibited some interesting Irish Aprons, representing the Degrees of R.A. and Templar Priest as formerly worked under Lodge No. 175, Larne, Co. Antrim; and Craft under Lodge No. 315, Tanderagee, originally warranted in 1759, and now represented by No. 79 of 1829.

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Bro. W. J. Williams read the following paper, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to him on the proposition of Bro. R. H. Baxter, seconded by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins; comments being made by Bros. H. Bradley, Ed. Armitage, J. Heron Lepper, A. Heiron, E. W. Marson, and W. J. Songhurst.

# THE NOMENCLATURE OF LODGES
## WITH A FEW NOTES ON THEIR NUMBERS.

*BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.*

BY Rule 128 of the *Book of Constitutions* "Every Lodge must be distinguished by a name or Title as well as a number, and no Lodge shall be permitted to make any alteration in its name or title without the approval of the Grand Master, and in Provinces or Districts also that of the Provincial or District Grand Master. Any such alteration must be immediately communicated to the Grand Secretary for registration."

By Rule 119 the form of Petition for a warrant to hold a new Lodge provides a space for the name to be given to such new Lodge.

By means of these two rules the Grand Master has the power of veto over the nomenclature of Lodges both at their birth and during the whole of their existence. These rules can in substance be found in the *Book of Constitutions* so far back as the edition dated 1815.

At the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held on 7th June, 1922, a message was read from the Most Worshipful Grand Master in regard to Petitions for new Lodges.

In the course of this message the following sentence occurs indicating that our present subject is deemed by the M.W. Grand Master as one of importance:—

> The desired title should be simple and appropriate: and, if the proposed Lodge has a special character, this should be signified by the name. A Lodge should not be named after any Brother, living or dead, unless he is or has been of the highest eminence in the Craft; and if a suggested title be of a professional nature, it should be linked with such a limitation as not to embrace within a local circle an influence or interest which is widespread.

A study of the names or titles of the various Lodges is full of interest and appears to be within the scope of our researches. It need hardly be said that the subject of names is in itself a very ancient as well as fascinating and instructive one. Much of the lore of Masonry is indissolubly linked with the high import of the Name.

The V.S.L. in its earliest and in its latest pages indicates and illustrates the significance of nomenclature. One of the first things done by the first man was to name every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, "and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was the name thereof" (Gen. ii., 19). Later we read that Adam called his wife "Isha" (woman) because she was taken out of "Ish" (man), so that even in those early days names were not given without a reason, and ever since then man has had an inveterate habit of giving names to all things and sundry which come within range of his mental activity.

Scientific classification has been greatly aided by this custom, and although the poet asks:

> What's in a name?
> A rose, by any other name would smell as sweet,

we may be quite sure that the poet who asks the question would indignantly repudiate the suggestion that a name is an insignificant thing.

The list of Lodges given in the *Masonic Year Book* for 1921 affords most of the material for this essay.

In addition to the Grand Stewards' Lodge, which has no number, it gives us the names or titles and numbers of the existing Lodges numbered (including

deleted Lodges) from 1 to 4178, comprising a total of 3,612 Lodges. The difference between the highest number and the total number is accounted for by the fact that many names have dropped out of the list and there has been no recent re-numbering of the Lodges. Re-numbering used to be a not infrequent incident, with the result that the Moira Lodge which was No. 263 in 1755 is now No. 92. As a result of the Union all numbers were necessarily changed.

Many would regret any re-numbering of their Lodges now, as figures are not easy for all to remember, and it has become a habit with most of us to think of a number as well as a name in connection with our Mother Lodge. Every useful purpose seems to be served without any re-numbering, if the date of the Warrant is associated with the Lodge number.

The Lodges formed since 1814 are numbered in the same order as the dates of their warrants, but before that year the order was not the same. This is only partly accounted for by the amalgamation of the two Jurisdictions, as may be seen by the fact that Lodge No. 319 (New Forest), warranted in 1814, is followed by Loyalty No. 320, warranted in 1799.

Universal as Masonry is, there must have been much consideration and brain racking to find for all these 3,612 Lodges a name at once suitable and desirable. In the earlier days the more obvious and attractive names were readily annexed. In later years the task of selection must have been increasingly difficult and has frequently resulted in the lawful annexation of a name already borne by another Lodge. But the very quest for names has been instructive, and occasionally the seekers have selected names for the Lodges they are founding which shine as gems by reason of their appropriateness and significance. Who could imagine a choicer name for a Lodge of Research than that of The Quatuor Coronati Lodge? How it carries us back through the centuries, linking us to those devoted operative brethren to whom death was welcome rather than that their Masonry should be enlisted in the cause of Idolatry! We are indeed fortunate, both in our local habitation and our name, and also because the name was not previously annexed, although our number on the roll is 2076.

The Universality of Freemasonry is exemplified by our Lodge names in *Time*, in *Space*, and in the realms of *Morals*, of *Science*, and of *Art*. In Time. The Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, whose claim to date from time immemorial has been officially conceded, an honour which it shares with but two other Lodges, viz., No. 4 (Royal Somerset House and Inverness) and No. 12 (Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland). In Space. The whole starry heavens from Zenith to Nadir and East to West have been ransacked in all their four quarters.

In the realm of Ethics nearly every imaginable moral and social virtue has been enlisted, and the liberal Arts and Sciences to the number of more than Seven (although not precisely the seven which are named in our Lectures) have also been utilised.

The rule of giving distinctive names or titles to Lodges was not always in force. There was a time in Masonic history, and that not so very remote, when, if a Mason were asked distinctively to designate his Mother Lodge, he would have had to reply that it was the Lodge which met at the Goose and Gridiron Alehouse; or at the Crown Alehouse; or at the Apple Tree Tavern; or at the Rummer and Grapes Tavern.

It must be confessed that our brethren of that period were at a disadvantage as compared with us; but still Masonry is a progressive science, and probably our aforesaid brethren were able to mollify the inferences and insinuations which the uninstructed and popular world might draw from the names of those meeting-places, all of which seem very far removed from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which was, as one of the Lectures informs us, a place where of old time our Ancient Brethren assembled. Up to the year 1750 very few Lodges had distinctive titles, but from that date onwards Lodges gradually adopted names.

Many of our existing Lodge names have been derived from the Ceremonies, the Lectures, and matters therein referred to, and it is intended in the earlier part of this paper to group such names so that an orderly view may be taken of them when duly classified.

When, in a certain Charge, the practice of every domestic as well as public virtue is recommended, the virtues specially singled out are Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice (the four Cardinal Virtues) and Benevolence and Charity. These have all been adopted as Lodge names.

First as to *Prudence*. In London there is the Lodge of Prudent Brethren (No. 145), while there are no less than eight Provincial Lodges bearing the name Prudence, not to mention one which adds Industry after Prudence. Then, turning to *Temperance*, we have the Lodge of Temperance (No. 169), Temperance in the East (898), Temperantia (4058) among London Lodges, and in the Provinces there are six entitled Temperance, one the Temperance Lodge of Felicity, and two Temperantia. This same virtue is also the distinguishing badge of two District Lodges and is linked with Benevolence at Calcutta.

*Fortitude* appears in Fortitude and Old Cumberland (No. 12, London), and there are six Lodges of Fortitude in the Provinces, as well as Humility with Fortitude (No. 229, Calcutta).

*Justice* is not without a tribute:—London Lodges include Justice (147), Justicia (2563), but the Provinces have not yet appropriated the name (though we doubt not they have the thing). India has one Lodge "Justice" and two "Justitia."

*Benevolentia* (2549) is the name of one London Lodge. Six Provincial Lodges have adopted Benevolence (including No. 226) and two Benevolent.

*Charity* is lacking as a Lodge name in London, but the Provinces have boldly taken the name in six cases (including Plymouth 223), to say nothing of Charity Centenary (of Farnworth 3786).

Other excellencies referred to in the same Charge are Secrecy, Fidelity, and Obedience.

Of these *Secrecy* is at present an unannexed title—no doubt it belongs to all the Craft. It is, perhaps, implied in the name Silent Temple (No. 126). *Fidelity*, however, stands high in the list, being No. 3, dating from 1754. The Provinces have eight Lodges of Fidelity (the earliest being numbered 230 at Devonport) and one of Fidelity and Sincerity. Three District Lodges bear this choice name. *Obedience* is not to be found in London, but at Okehampton a Lodge has not shunned to bear the name which is so hard to live up to. The District Lodges make no such vaunt.

At the close of the Charge the sacred dictates of *Truth*, of *Honour*, and of *Virtue* are mentioned. Here, again, London, with its innate modesty, refrains from using the name Truth, although Verity is adopted by Lodge 2739. The Provinces, however, have set their seal upon it in two cases, including No. 521; whilst we find the Lodge of True Friendship (No. 160), True Love and Unity (No. 248), and True and Faithful (No. 318), as well as Verity (3949).

In another Lecture three great Pillars called *Wisdom*, *Strength* and *Beauty* are referred to. No Lodge has been so unwise as to appropriate the name of Wisdom, nor so conceited as to adopt that of Beauty: the nearest approaches to the claim of Strength appear to be Strong Man (No. 45) and United Strength (No. 228). One Lodge, however (No. 2806) has been given the name "Three Pillars," doubtless as signifying their aspirations rather than their full attainment.

The Three Principal Moral Virtues are referred to in the same connection, namely, Faith, Hope and Charity. The Lodge of *Faith* is No. 141 (date 1774). This is a London Lodge. There are three Lodges of Faith in the Provinces, that at Radcliffe being No. 344, and one at Karachi. There are also the Lodges of Faith, Hope and Charity at Barnoldswick and at Ootacamund, Madras (No. 1285), and Three Graces (No. 408). Furthermore we find Faith and Unanimity (417), and Faithful (twice, 85 and 473). *Hope* finds no place in London as a Lodge name, but has six habitations in the Provinces, to say nothing of Hope and Charity and Hope and Unity. District Lodges include three of Hope, one of Golden Hope, also Good Hope, Hope and Perseverance, and Hopeful.

The foregoing may serve as instances showing how the virtues mentioned in our Lodges have been adopted as distinguishing titles, and one cannot fail to

admire the discernment which led our brethren to such dignified and ideal sources for names indicating their aspirations.

If and when we attain it is only that we may aspire.

The following analysis includes most of the further names derived from virtues and excellencies of character:—Brotherly Love is No. 329, Relief No. 42, and Truth Nos. 521 and 1458. Three Grand Principles (Provincial Lodges 208, 408 and 441). These are all Provincial Lodges, but I trust they are not merely Provincial virtues.

*Industry* is represented by Industry (186), two Provincial Lodges, two District Lodges, and conjoined with Perseverance at Calcutta (No. 109).

Another class may be summarised under their terminations. Take, for instance, names of qualities ending in *ity*. Antiquity (No. 2), Felicity (No. 58, London, and one Provincial Lodge), Fidelity (already illustrated), Unity (69, 71, 132, 183), Unity and Progress, Unity and Prudence, Unanimity (89, 102, 113, and several others), Perfect Unanimity (150), Unanimity and Sincerity (261), Honour and Generosity (165), Amity (seven in all, including 137 and 171), Sincerity (174), Tranquillity (185), Regularity (91), Affability (317), Fraternity (3222), Stability (217), Cordiality (3982), Equity (3692).

It will be noticed that many of the Lodges bearing the name of Unity and kindred titles date back to early years, and thus indicate the high value which in those days was attributed to that characteristic. This foundation was well and truly laid, and the building now stands firm and beautiful because of the care then exercised.

There are other names of like import, viz.:—Union Waterloo (No. 13), Union (Nos. 38, 52, 166, and others), Old Union (46), Royal Union (382), St. James' Union (180), Lodge of Unions (256), Union (767), United (697), United Mariners (No. 30), and several other Lodges having two names the first of which is "United."

Other qualities are represented by:—Confidence (193), Economy (76), Freedom (77), Goodwill (711). What a splendid quartette these four make! Emulation (21), Love and Honour (75), Friendship (100 and 206), True Friendship (218), Good Fellowship (276), Loyal (251), Loyalty (1607), and Harmony (255 and 272). While we have also the Moira Lodge of Honor (No. 326), Peace and Concord, Concord, Concordia, and Perseverance, which latter virtue is, I am beginning to think, exemplified if not adorned in this paper.

Let us now pass to names and titles derived from the operations of Masonry. The *Implements* of Operative Masonry are but scantily referred to. Indeed, I have only found the following instances, viz.:—The T Square Lodge No. 3269, Square and Compass No. 1336, Sun, Square and Compasses No. 119, Lewis No. 872. The *Products* of Operative Masonry are, however, represented by Five Orders (3696), and these in detail, Tuscan (14), Doric (81), one London and nine Provincial, Ionic (227 and three others), Corinthian (six Provincial and one London), Composite (4076); to which may be added, as styles of architecture, Egyptian (27), Grecian (3718), Tyrian (1110), Palladian (120), Etruscan (546); and completed buildings, Temple (101), Silent Temple (126), Abbey (ten Lodges), and Pyramid (in Queensland).

The Ancient Historian of Architecture is perpetuated in The Vitruvian Lodge No. 338; and the William of Wykeham Lodge No. 1883 meets at Winchester.

The memory of Sir Christopher Wren has not yet been honoured by being associated with a Lodge name. Can this be due to the somewhat derogatory references which are made to his alleged negligence of his duties as a speculative, as distinguished from an operative, Mason?

The Ornaments and Emblematic references of the Craft are adopted as names in the following instances, apart from those already mentioned under the heading of Implements of Operative Masonry. First of all the whole system is referred to in the title Emblematic (No. 1321). Then we have The Perfect Ashlar (No. 1178), St. George's and Corner Stone (No. 5), Westminster and Keystone (10), Keystone (363), Centre (3701). Acacia occurs seven times (including No. 1309) and Sprig of Acacia once. Phœnix occurs seven times,

and, including Atlantic Phœnix, there are three having Centenary Warrants. Evidently there has been continuity if not resuscitation here.

The Sphinx is No. 1329, Anchor No. 1704, and The Mystic Quest No. 3873. This particular branch of Freemasonry does not appear to have been much drawn upon. It may be that the notion has prevailed that the primary duty of secrecy might, to some extent, be discounted, were the working tools and other kindred objects too freely used as furnishing Lodge names.

There are many names derived from the Old Testament. Of these the following may be mentioned:—No. 11, Enoch (being the first Lodge warranted with a man's name); 34, Mount Moriah; 73, Mount Lebanon; 121, Mount Sinai; 1798, Zion; 197, Jerusalem; 201, Jordan; 212, Euphrates; 205, Israel; 266, Naphtali; 51, Angel; 1319, Asaph; 2810, Abiff; Hiram is the name of three Lodges; 3774, First Artificer; 347, Noah's Ark; 188, Joppa; 49, Gihon; 1671, Mizpah; 192, Lion and Lamb.

It would seem from the references in the *Year Book* to Jewish Holidays that the first three distinctively Jewish Lodges are Tranquillity (No. 185, warranted 1787), Joppa (No. 188, warranted 1789), and Israel (No. 205, warranted 1793). Having regard to the dates of these warrants it seems an inadequate if not inaccurate statement in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that about *1832* the brotherhood showed their good sense in deciding that Jews might become members of the Craft.

The Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences have also been drawn upon. There is the Lodge of Science (437), and there are also three Scientific Lodges, of which No. 88 at Cambridge takes precedence. It was warranted in 1762. I cannot single out any famous Grammarian, but every good writer ought to be a good operative Grammarian, so that under Grammar and Rhetoric we may classify Poets and other Literary men, including Shakespear (99 and four Provincial Lodges), Chaucer (1540), Robert Burns (25). This was the first Lodge to take the name of a Poet. It was warranted in 1810. Burns died in 1796, only fourteen years before. Dante (3707), Byron (4014), Cowper and Newton (2244), Caxton (1853), Sir Walter Raleigh (2432), Bolingbroke (2417), Charles Dickens (2757), and, as representative of Journalism, The Gallery Lodge (1928). Dickens is further represented by Cheerybles (2466) and Pickwick (2467). Sir Walter Scott is not named, but perhaps Peveril of the Peak Lodge (No. 654) has reference to him.

*Logic*, *Arithmetic* and *Geometry* are not numerously represented. Yet we find the Pythagorean Lodge (No. 79) with which we must link Eureka (3763), Archimedean (No. 3613), Socrates (373), Calculus (3575), Pentangle (1174), Heptagon (3605), Quadratic (1691), Mensura (3724).

*Music* is, however, well represented. First there is the Lodge of Music No. 3688. Then Harmony, in both its speculative and operative aspects, has attracted many seekers after a name, with the result that we have Harmony (No. 255, a London Lodge) and twelve Lodges of Harmony in the Provinces, as well as Harmony and Industry and five District Lodges. This appears to be a record.

Then we turn to Musicians. Of these the Ancients may be represented by Orpheus (1706) and Asaph (1319); while, coming to a more modern period, we have Mozart (3735), Mendelssohn (2661), Sterndale Bennett (2182), and Arthur Sullivan (2156).

*Astronomy*, however, soars above all, and only some of the references can be given. There are the Stars. The first Star of all is Star in the East (No. 67) which Lodge has the distinction of being the first numbered Lodge outside the British Isles, having been founded at Calcutta in 1740. Then we find Star of the North (1647), Star of the South (1025), Star of the East (1407), Star of the West (2167), Morning Star (552), Evening Star (1719). The Constellations are represented by the Southern Cross (four District Lodges) and the Pleiades (No. 710). I have not noticed that any Lodge has adopted the name of any single Planet or Star. The implications which might arise from such names as Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn have no doubt fenced off those fields

of nomenclature. The Neptune Lodge (No. 22) derives its name from the Sea God and not from the Planet of that name, for that was not discovered until 1846, while the first Neptune Lodge was warranted in 1757. The Zodiac Lodge is No. 2615. The signs are represented only by Aquarius (3113) and Taurus (3981). It may be observed that the latter meets at Butcher's Hall, which points to a fatal ending of the Bull. Meridian (4106) and Aurora (4047) are also met with. The Rising Sun is No. 1401, Sun and Sector (962), and the Crescent (788).

Light is a thing most intensely desired. Hence we have Lux in Tenebris (3856), The First Lodge of Light (468) as well as Light (2721), Lights (148), and Light of the Craft, Light of the North, Light of the South, Light in Arabia, and several other Lodges using the word Light in conjunction with certain localities.

The name of the great Astronomer Herschel appears as Lodge No. 1894 and the whole subject of Astronomy in Astral (3841).

*The Universality* of the Craft is manifest in the naming of the Universal Lodge (No. 181), Universalis (4163), the Cosmopolitan Lodge (917), and the Globe (No. 23), though the latter name was in fact derived from the Tavern at which that Lodge first met. There is also the One and All Lodge (No. 330). The mention of the latter Lodge enables us to bring in a numerical series, viz.:—One and All, Three Graces, Three Grand Principles, Four Cardinal Virtues, Five Orders, Seven Kings, Nine Muses (235), and Twelve Brothers.

As we have all been told that, in every age, *Monarchs* themselves have been promoters of the art and, not thinking it derogatory to their dignity to exchange the Sceptre for the Trowel, have patronised our mysteries and even joined in our assemblies, it is not unfitting that we should see how this is reflected in the names of Lodges. King Solomon (2029) must, of course, take precedence, but, coming to British Monarchs, we have Boadicea (who died in A.D. 61) represented by Lodge 3147, Caradoc (her contemporary) whose name has been assumed by Nos. 1573 and 1674, Alfred (Nos. 306 and 340) and King Alfred (No. 2945), Royal Athelstan (No. 19) of whom it is said that he was a Speculative Mason, Canute (Lodge No. 3104), King Harold (No. 1327), Edward the Confessor (No. 3782), King Henry the Eighth (No. 1757). I wonder what his connection with Masonry was! Queen Victoria and Victoria (several Lodges), Empress (No. 2581), King Edward the Seventh (five Provincial Lodges and some District Lodges not to mention those adopting his name before he ascended the Throne). The Coronation Lodge (No. 2898) came into existence in 1902 in connection with his Coronation. King George the Fifth gives the name to at least three Lodges.

Time and your patience would fail me were I to enter into detail concerning the numerous Lodges distinguished by the dignified names of Royal Dukes and other Peers of the Realm. It would, however, be wrong to omit reference to the fact that our Most Worshipful Grand Master the Duke of Connaught has permitted his name to be used for two London, five Provincial, and two District Lodges.

The names of *Deities and Heroes* are represented by these, among others:—Apollo (Lodge 301 and three others), Minerva (six Provincial and one London Lodge), Achilles University (4078), Britannia (139 and two others), Proserpine (3783), and Neptune (22 and two others).

Coming to the highest human rank of all, namely, *the Saints*, the Provincial Lodges bearing that prefix are about two hundred in number, and there are forty-three London Lodges and thirty-nine District Lodges, so distinguished. Doubtless most of these are so named from Towns and Parishes, and others from the names of Patron Saints of various Arts and Crafts, but an essay might well be devoted exclusively to a discussion and explanation of the Masonic facts and fancies derived from these most excellent names. There was a time, indeed, when St. John's Lodge seems to have been a generic name for all Freemason's Lodges.

Many Lodges have adopted the simple plan of identifying themselves by the name of their *Locality*, a method which savours of simplicity rather than symbolism.

Famous *Masons* find one of the best and most enduring Memorials in the fact that their names serve to distinguish a considerable number of Lodges. Indeed the custom seems to be growing, and, if the honour is judiciously restrained within due compass, one can hardly conceive a greater Masonic honour than such a permanent enshrinement. Of these we mention but a few:—Randle Holme (No. 3261), Dunckerley (No. 3878). Was not Thomas Dunckerley the most highly honoured of all Provincial Grand Masters on record? I see his name on one opening (pages 304 and 305) for the *Year Book* as Grand Master in Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire (twice), and Herefordshire. William Preston (No. 766), Dr. Oliver (No. 3964), Moira (No. 92), Athol (No. 74), Brownrigg (Nos. 1424 and 1638), Halsey (1479), Shadwell Clerke (1910), James Terry (2372), Charles Edward Keyser (2518). The list would be incomplete (as it is in any case) without mention of the name of the Robert Freke Gould Lodge No. 2874, warranted in 1901. We are happy to find that this former Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge has been so distinguished. No doubt some of those who read this paper will know why it was reserved to a Lodge at Gibraltar thus to honour themselves by so honouring him. Was it because he was late of the 31st Regiment? In like manner the first Master of the same Lodge has been honoured by the Charles Warren Lodge, Kimberley (No. 1832).

Elias Ashmole does not appear in the list of Lodges yet. Probably the Brethren at Warrington (where he was "made a Freemason" in 1646) thought it sufficient to name their Chapter after him. The Lodge of Lights and the Chapter Elias Ashmole are both numbered 148 and now meet at Warrington. Anthony Sayer, the Grand Master of the 1717 Revival, has at last come into his own, for while this paper is awaiting publication a Lodge (No. 4225) has been consecrated bearing his name. Henry Muggeridge (whose fame is connected with "Stability" working) is commemorated in the Lodge of that name No. 1679, warranted in 1877. It is stated in a book on *Freemasonry and its Etiquette* that application was made to name a Lodge after the no less renowned Peter Gilkes (whose name is linked with "Emulation" working) but the petition was refused.

As every Lodge must sooner or later be closed, this paper also must be brought to a close. The materials are by no means exhausted, but I fear my hearers may be.

There are several Lodges bearing names indicative of the *healing art* and among them "Galen," "Aesculapius," "Hygeia," "Sanitarian," "Nosocomia," and "Rahere."

There are numerous Naval and Military Lodges bearing the names of the various branches of those services and of famous generals, such as Kitchener and Earl Roberts. The Aircraft branches are already well represented. Schools and Colleges, too, have conferred their names. Indeed, the First Lodge to bear any distinguishing name at all, in the old engraved lists, was the University Lodge which met at the Bear and Harrow, but its career (at any rate, under that title) was very short, since it was founded in 1730 and erased in 1736.

The Legal Profession can be identified as associated with several Lodges, *e.g.*, Western Circuit and Chancery Bar. Professions and Trades have also, in this way, hung out their signs, and Sports and Recreations have followed in their train. Latin Mottoes or Phrases have also been requisitioned. No doubt, in most cases, these are derived from the Coats of Arms of various Societies who were well represented in the Lodges when founded. We need only instance "Semper Paratus" (two), "Semper Vigilans," "Semper Eadem," and "Semper Fidelis" (three.)

There are other Lodges whose characteristics are distinguished by words terminating in *ian* or in *ic*. I must, in this category, mention my Mother Lodge (Arcadian), and add Palladian, Vitruvian, and Bohemian. Those in *ic* include Eclectic, Emblematic, Eccentric, Electric, Philanthic, Scientific, Polytechnic, Philanthropic, and Britannic.

I am conscious that there are many other phases worthy of attention in connection with the names of Lodges. For instance, the particular reasons for

the choice of certain names or titles, and the subsequent changes of names (especially in connection with the oldest Lodges) would form an interesting study. So also might the heraldry, real or attempted, as crystallised in the Lodge Banners. These, however, are not within the scope of the present paper, and would demand for elucidation an extensive correspondence with adequately instructed representatives of the various Lodges, and actual inspection of the Banners.

Suffice it now to say that the dignity, meaning, and value of the names adopted by our Lodges, embracing, as they do, the highest ideals in morals, and the greatest range in all Arts and Sciences, form no mean contribution towards the vindication of the Craft, as well as some explanation of its growing attractiveness, importance, and utility.

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Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, said:—

Bro. W. J. Williams has favoured us with a nice chatty little paper, which, although involving no great amount of research, is, nevertheless, not without interest.

May I, however, respectfully suggest that a tabulation, in the form of an appendix, defining the nature of certain class Lodges, would be of value? Who, from a mere glance at the list, could guess that the Southern Star Lodge No. 1158, London, or its sister the Northern Star No. 3053, Manchester, was confined to Brethren connected with the gas industry or that the Acacia Lodge No. 3436, London, was reserved for members of that lugubrious profession, who, according to Dickens, indulge in the most riotous hilarity in the bosoms of their families? As a contrast we have the splendidly suggestive Aedile Lodge No. 3281, London, for officials of public bodies.

Of Lodges with short names we have the Era No. 1423, Twickenham, the Uva No. 3429, Badulla, and the Lyn No. 3251, Lynton; whilst ponderous titles are found in the Insurance and Banking Lodge of Northumbria No. 3886, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the East Lancashire Provincial Grand Officers' Lodge No. 3747, Manchester, to which last-named I have myself the honour to be attached.

The Waverley Lodge No. 1322, Ashton-under-Lyne, dating from 1870, might have been more appropriately associated with the name of Sir Walter Scott than even that of the Peveril of the Peak Lodge, for the great novelist is as as well-known as the "Author of Waverley" as by any other description.

The Rhetoric Lodge No. 4265 has been curiously omitted from the list of those associated with the seven liberal arts and sciences.

Evidence is not wanting that the Old Charges have been ransacked for names; Athelstan No. 1333, Atherston, and No. 4024, Faversham; Prince Edwin No. 125, Hythe, and No. 128, Bury; Eadwine No. 4398, Bedlington; and St. Alban's No. 29, London, are almost certainly derived from that source; whilst Hiram No. 2416, London; Abiff No. 2810, Saxmundham; First Artificer No. 3774, London; King Solomon No. 2029, London; and King Solomon's Temple No. 3464, Manchester, are at least suggestive of such a derivation. There can be little doubt about the name of our own Lodge having been taken from the Regius MS.

Whilst we can congratulate ourselves on having had our first and second Masters, Bros. Sir Charles Warren and Robert Freke Gould duly recognised in this connection it is a matter of surprise and regret to me personally that our Bro. William James Hughan has never been honoured by having a Lodge called after him. His name might very fittingly have indicated the nature of one at least of the research Lodges which have recently sprung into existence.

Just as the founders (or members in the case of those named after constitution) of nearly four thousand Lodges now on the roll of the United Grand Lodge have taken delight in selecting appropriate names, so do I now

have pleasure in proposing that a very hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Bro. W. J. Williams for his paper.

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Bro. HERBERT BRADLEY said:—

I should like to associate myself with the vote of thanks which has been proposed. The subject of the paper is an excellent and a very wide one, but in classification I cannot help thinking the paper is not altogether satisfactory

I append lists under some of the headings chosen by Bro. Williams which seem to me to show that he has not always selected the most important Lodges coming under his classes and has omitted many very interesting names:—

*Prudence.* United Lodge of Prudence No. 81; Unity and Prudence No. 4156.

*Temperance.* United Temperance No. 3107.

*Charity.* Universal Charity No. 273; Loyalty and Charity No. 1584; Philanthropy No. 542; Assistance No. 2773; Misericordia No. 3286; Relief No. 42.

*Secrecy.* Virtue and Silence No. 332.

*Truth-Honour-Virtue.* Love and Honour No. 285 and No. 75; Merit No. 466; Virtue No. 152; Virtue and Honour No. 494; Phœnix of Honour and Prudence No. 331; Honour No. 379; Aretas No. 4268; Honour and Generosity No. 165; Honour and Friendship No. 1266.

Surely True Friendship and True Love and Unity should be classified not under Truth but under Friendship and Love and Unity.

*Faith, Hope and Charity.* Royal Lodge of Faith and Friendship No. 270; Anchor and Hope No. 37; Loyal Berkshire Lodge of Hope No. 574; White Hope No. 1939; Faithful No. 85; Fidelis No. 1809; Confidence No. 193. There are also six Lodges bearing the name of Semper Fidelis which in some cases is certainly taken from the motto of the Cities in whch they are held.

*Brotherly Love.* Himalayan Brotherhood No. 459; Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 56; Brotherly Love No. 329; United Brothers No. 1069; True Brothers No. 1210; Fraternity and Perseverance No. 1746; United Brethren No. 1923; Southern Brotherhood No. 3311; True Brotherhood No. 3335; Old Fraternity No. 3547; Fraternity No. 3222; Universal Brotherhood No. 3835; Sodales No. 3958; Semper Fratres No. 4467.

*Industry.* Loyal Lodge of Industry No. 421; Indefatigable No. 237; Endeavour No. 830 and No. 4409; Harmony and Industry No. 381; United Industrious No. 31.

*Ending in ity.* The classification of Bro. Williams in this way is very unsatisfactory. For instance, Loyalty and Liberty, both qualities very similar to many ending in 'ity,' have to be separately classified because they end in 'ty,' and the difficulty is enhanced in cases such as True Love and Unity, and Verity, both of which are classified under Truth. There are many cases in which a Lodge name is composed of two words, only one of which ends in 'ity.' Does it fall under the termination 'ity' or the other word? Probity No. 61; Integrity No. 163; Peace and Unity No. 314; Friendship and Sincerity No. 472; Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality No. 187; Faith and Unanimity No. 417; Druids' Lodge of Love and Liberality No. 589; Hospitality No. 1697; Equality No. 1145; Courage with Unanimity No. 392; Fidelity and Sincerity No. 1966; Prosperity No. 2607; Temperance Lodge of Felicity No. 3632; Affinity No. 4164.

*Other Qualities.* New Concord No. 813; Old Concord No. 172; Goodwill No. 465; Royal York Lodge of Perseverance No. 7; Good Fellowship No. 276; Rectitude No. 335 and No. 502; Candour No. 337; United Good Fellowship No. 809; Unity, Peace and Concord (Royal Scots.) No. 316; Progress No. 1768; Alliance No. 1827; Clemency No. 2341; Onward and Invicta No. 2912; Royal

and Loyal No. 2952; Unity and Perseverance No. 3312; Conciliation No. 3483; Providence No. 3697; Unity and Progress No. 3723; United Good No. 3741; Vigilance No. 3859; Liberty No. 3888; Chivalry No. 3974; Gratitude No. 3991; Zeal No. 4204; Valour No. 4322; Precision No. 3842; Fervency No. 3589.

*Friendship.* United Friendship No. 313; Perpetual Friendship No. 135; Perfect Friendship No. 376; Friendly No. 383 and No. 1513; Friendship and Harmony No. 1270; Friendship and Unity No. 1271; Honour and Friendship No. 1266; Friends in Council No. 1383; Social Friendship (Royal Irish Fusiliers) No. 497; United Friends No. 313; Comrades No. 2976; Amicus No. 3772; Old Friendship No. 3907; Camberwell Old Comrades No. 4077; Hand and Heart No. 4109. (This Lodge really perpetuates the name of a man called Hand.) Gavelkind No. 4266. This refers to an obscure law of succession local in Kent, and it seems probable that the Lodge would not have been so named unless the word Gavel had been in it.

*Architecture.* Why omit Tuscan No. 14? Acanthus No. 2715, supposed to have suggested the decoration of the Corinthian Column; Prince of Architects No. 4188.

*Completed Buildings.* Parthenon No. 1826; Priory No. 1000; Tower No. 3583; Castle No. 3219; Citadel No. 1897.

*Emblematic.* Golden Fleece No. 2081; Good Report No. 136; Beehive No. 2800; Dormer No. 2222.

*The Bible.* Adam's No. 158; Abiff No. 2810, not in the Bible; Lion and Lamb No. 192, not in the Bible ("The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, Isaiah xi., 6; "And the lion shall eat straw like the ox," Isaiah xi., 7); Eden No. 1530; Samson No. 1668; Samaritan No. 286; Star of Bethlehem No. 2522; Antioch No. 3271; King Solomon's Temple No. 3464; King Solomon No. 2029; Cedars of Lebanon No. 4317.

*Liberal Arts and Sciences.* You can hardly exclude Arts No. 3203 and No. 2751; Arts and Crafts No. 3387 and No. 4134; Hogarth No. 3396; Alchemy No. 3950; Isaac Newton No. 859; Josiah Wedgwood No. 2214; Kelvin No. 3736; Radium No. 4031.

*Authors, etc.* Ivanhoe No. 1779 and No. 1322, obviously Scott; Pickwick No. 2467, Dickens; Swinburne No. 2680; Swan of Avon No. 2133; Bard of Avon No. 778; Coleridge No. 1750; Yorick No. 2771; Authors No. 3456; Minnehaha No. 2363, Longfellow.

*Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry.* Pentalpha No. 974 and No. 3164; Octahedron No. 1417; Ethical No. 753; Archimedes No. 3802.

*Music.* Orchestral No. 3028.

*Musicians.* St. Cecilia No. 1636.

*Astronomy.* Besides the Stars mentioned there are many local Stars (Star of so and so). Also Eastern Star No. 95; Rising Star No. 1022; Northern Star of China No. 2673; Orion in the West No. 415 (Constellation); Mercurius No. 4262; Polaris No. 4407; North Star, Eltham, No. 3927; Ad Astra No. 3808; Equator No. 4337; Sun No. 106; Aquarius No. 3113; Taurus No. 3981; Stella No. 2232.

*Light.* Beacon No. 4066; Radiant No. 4200; Light from the East No. 4186.

*Universality.* Lodge Cosmos No. 2768.

*Kings, etc.* Athelstan No. 1333; Ethelbert No. 2099; Etheldreda No. 2107; King Oswald No. 3301; King William's No. 3883; King Egbert No. 4288; Edward & Alexandra No. 3171; (two or three Alexandras); Royal George No. 3567; Rose of Denmark No. 975 (1863); Kings No. 3101.

*Heroes, etc.* Vulcan No. 3182; Daedalus No. 3843; Eurydice No. 1920; Halcyon No. 3546; Horus No. 3155; Iris No. 2545; Ceres No. 2879; Ixion No. 2501; Janus No. 4456 (singularly inappropriate, founded 1922); Neleus No. 3062; Pegasus No. 2205; Astræa No. 1376 (daughter of Zeus and Themis); Astrea No. 3073 (? meaning, a Transvaal Lodge).

*Medical.* Erasmus Wilson No. 1464.

The following seem much more important than the specimens chosen:—In Deo Fidemus No. 3951; Facta non Verba No. 3409; Nil Sine Labore No. 2736; In Arduis Fidelis No. 3432; Per Mare per Terram No. 3609; Pro Deo et Patria No. 4425; Supera Moras No. 3326.

A list of names ending in *ian* and *ic*, which are not mentioned by Bro. Williams, seems to me to show conclusively how unfortunate his system of classification is.

*Ending in ian and ic.* Boltonian No. 3716; Exonian No. 3415; Cestrian No. 425; Cornubian No. 450; Lancastrian No. 2528; Devonian No. 2834; Justinian No. 2694; Lombardian No. 2348; Tyrian No. 253; Silurian No. 471; Corinthian No. 2350; Hadrian No. 2483; Novocastrian No. 3361; Phulkian No. 3764; Sanitarian No. 3458; Hanliensian No. 3935; Salopian No. 262; Rotarian No. 4195; Vespasian No. 4222; Hampdenian No. 4290; Cambrian No. 364; and No. 464; Caledonian No. 204; Domatic No. 177; Harmonic No. 216; Edric No. 4299; Ceramic No. 3827; Baltic No. 3006; Olympic No. 4461; Lyric No. 3016; Horistic No. 2822; Rhetoric No. 4265; Royal Philanthropic No. 405.

There is a considerable class of Lodges named after the ancient names of the localities in which they are held. Such are, Anderida No. 2434 (Pevensey where Julius Cæsar and the Conqueror are supposed to have landed); Clausentum No. 1461, Southampton; Deva No. 3447 (? Dee, Chester); Dunelm No. 4079; Eboracum No. 1611; Herga No. 2548; Pelusium No. 3003 (Port Said); Sabrina No. 4158 (Severn); Vaga No. 3146 (Wye); Vedra No. 3137 (Wear).

In dealing with Naval and Military Commanders the omission of Wellington, Marlborough, and Nelson is very striking.

The omission of the earlier legal Lodges Eldon No. 1715, and Northern Bar No. 1610, and of Lodge Justinian No. 2694 is also noticeable.

Bro. Williams has given us a sketch of his subject, but much remains to be done. The interest to us lies in the origin and meaning of the names adopted by Lodges at the time of their formation and in connecting them with the sources from which they are derived. Many of them are based on history, some of them are little more than words. Lodges are named after persons, counties, rivers, flowers, towns, trades, etc. There are Nautical, Maritime, Service, Public School, and many other classes of Lodges, but the interest to us Masons lies in the meaning of the names to the Lodges themselves.

I would instance as an example Lodge Chaloner No. 2644, Melksham, Wilts., consecrated in 1896. Mr. Long, of Rood Ashton, Wilts., the father of the first Lord Long, had a son, the present Lord Gisborough, who took the name Chaloner in 1888. Melksham is quite near to Rood Ashton, and the connexion at once became obvious.

Bro. Williams has his own views as to the meaning of the idea of Unity in the names of early Lodges. But we know that Perfect Unanimity, Madras, No. 150, was founded at the time of the Union of the Antients and Moderns in Madras in 1786, and surely most of the names containing the idea of Union and Unity in England before 1820 must refer to the *United* Grand Lodge of England. On the other hand, Unitas No. 3211 (1906); Unification No. 3455 (1910); Unanimity No. 3372 (1909); and Unity No. 3044 (1904), all South African Lodges, seem to refer to the Union of South Africa.

Few Lodges before the date of the Union appear to bear what might be called historical names; Royal Jubilee (1811) No. 72, of course, refers to the Jubilee of King George the Third. The ideas of Unity, Peace and Concord began to appear fairly frequently between 1806 and 1819 with reference to the Union of the Grand Lodges and the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Nelson of the Nile is, of course, a historical name.

But one of the most remarkable points about the nomenclature of Freemasonry is the way in which it follows not only the history of this country and its dependencies, but also the domestic history of the Royal House.

The earliest Prince of Wales Lodge No. 259 (1787) refers, of course, to George IV., and there is no other in England earlier than 1863, when the marriage of the late King took place, which event led to the consecration of two Lodges of that name, two Alexandras and one Rose of Denmark. There was, however, a Royal Albert and a Royal Albert Edward in 1862, both perhaps the direct result of the death of the Prince Consort, which occurred in 1861. Royal Victoria, dated 1837, marks the Queen's Accession. The names of Sussex and Zetland mark the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Sussex, 1813 to 1843, and the Earl of Zetland 1844 to 1870. The latter occurs five times in fifteen consecutive Lodges now in the list warranted in 1845 to 1847.

Panmure, De Grey and Ripon, Yarborough, Skelmersdale and Mount Edgcumbe are other names of Peers who have held high office in the Craft.

I can find only one direct reference to the time of the Crimean War in Lodge Florence Nightingale No. 706. The name of the Marquis of Dalhousie, the Viceroy of the Mutiny, is commemorated in 1867, seven years after his death, by the Lodge of that name No. 1159. Though the Lord Panmure referred to above succeeded as Earl of Dalhousie the Lodge was named after the Viceroy, who, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was a Scotch Mason, and took little part in Freemasonry in India. A Lodge in the Punjab was named after him.

The marriage of the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise was responsible for Lodge Lorne No. 1347.

Kaisar-i-Hind No. 1724 came into being at the time at which the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India, and refers to that event, and not to the medal which was founded years afterwards.

On the other hand, Star of India No. 3444 adopted its name and motto, "Heaven's Light our Guide," from that of the Order which was created long before the Lodge.

The Pacific Lodge of Hokitika No. 1229 appears to refer to the end of the Maori trouble in New Zealand.

The murder of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, was followed by the creation in 1872 of two Lodges of that name.

The Jubilee of 1887 is commemorated by Queen's Jubilee No. 2193, Military Jubilee No. 2195, Perak Jubilee No. 2225, and Victoria No. 2196.

The first of the Public School Lodges (Westminster) No. 2233 dates from the same year. The first Lodge named after our present Grand Master was Duke of Connaught No. 1524, consecrated in 1874 soon after his initiation.

A couple of Cyclists' Lodges in 1888 and 1889 refer to the coming of the safety bicycle.

Several Lodges are named after Prince Leopold and Prince Albert Victor.

Duke of Fife No. 2345 commemorates the marriage of the Duke of Fife and Princess Louise daughter of the late King.

The King's marriage is referred to in Lodges Duchess of York No. 2482 and White Rose of York No. 2491 (1893).

The Jubilee of 1897 is marked by Queen Victoria No. 2655, Commemoration No. 2663, Victoria Commemoration No. 2666, Victoria No. 2669 and No. 2671, Victoria Diamond Jubilee No. 2675, and Queen's No. 2681.

The year of the Queen's death is marked by Victoria No. 2848 and Chere Reine No. 2853.

King Edward VII. No. 2892, Coronation No. 2898, No. 2922, No. 2923, No. 2927, No. 2931, Connaught No. 2915, Duke of Connaught No. 2919 and No. 2940, and Queen Alexandra No. 2932 refer to the Coronation of King Edward and the appointment of the Duke of Connaught as Grand Master. Connaught turns up again in 1911, and also Royal George on the Coronation of the present King.

Many names of Lodges refer to the Great War. The first Peace Lodge appeared somewhat prematurely in 1917, and there was also a Tranquillity before the Armistice, and from that date onwards some thirty Lodges bear names directly referring to the end of the Great War. I cannot refrain from thinking

that the curiously named Lodge Think and Thank No. 4112 was intended to suggest that we should respect the memory and be thankful for the efforts of those whom we have lost in the Great War.

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Bro. EDWARD ARMITAGE said:—

I thoroughly agree with our R.W. Bro. the S.W. that too much care cannot be exercised in the choice of a fitting name for a new Lodge.

Indeed in the early years of the Craft after 1717 the Brethren seem to have fought shy of the responsibility of choosing a name, and it was only in 1730 that the University Lodge No. 74 led the way. During the first fifty years after the foundation of Grand Lodge there were less than fifty Lodges bearing distinctive names among the many hundreds that had been formed.

It is more easy to underrate than to overrate the value of a name, and it is hard to realize and appreciate the significance of the many beliefs and customs in connection with names all the world over. The primitive and underlying belief seems to have been that the name was an essential part of the individuality, and that anyone knowing the name had power over the person. We find this strongly marked in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, as, for instance:—

Chapter XVII.

I am Râ at his first appearance.
I am the great god, self produced;
His Names together compose the cycle of the gods;
Resistless is he among the gods.

(Note by P. Le Page Renouf: "It would be impossible to find a more emphatic assertion of the doctrine of *Nomina Numina* and that more than 3,000 years before Christ.")

Chapter XXV.

*Chapter whereby a person remembereth his name in the Netherworld.*

Let my name be given to me in the Great House. Let me remember my name in the House of Flame on the Night wherein the Years are counted and the Months are reckoned one by one.

I am He who dwelleth in Heaven, and who sitteth on the Eastern side of Heaven: and if there be any god who cometh not in my train, I utter his name at once.

Chapter CXLIX.

The twelfth domain. O this domain of Unt within Restau, the heat of which is that of fire. No god goes down into it, for the four snakes would destroy their names.

(Note. The destruction of the name means absolute destruction of the person.) [1]

We find in the Bible that the name is almost an equivalent of the personality or character of the person or thing named.

*cf Isaiah,* ch. ix., v. 6. *Ezekiel,* ch. xlviii., v. 35.

"Called by my name" or "Called after my name" signifies possession by him whose name is called.

*cf Amos,* ch. ix., v. 12. 2nd *Samuel,* ch. xii., v. 28.

[1] *The Egyptian Book of the Dead.* Translation by H. Le Page Renouf, 1893.

At the Tower of Babel the builders said "Let us make us a name," and this led to their restraint from that which they had imagined to do.

*Genesis*, ch. xi., v. 4-6.

"Have regard to thy name: for that shall continue with thee above a thousand
great treasures of gold.
A good life hath but few days: but a good name endureth for ever."

*Ecclesiasticus*, ch. xli., v. 12-13.

Note, too, the precautions taken to prevent the true Name of the Deity from being pronounced or even known.

Among primitive peoples everywhere the man will not tell his name, for the breath that would tell it would be the breathing forth of his spirit and would give the hearer power over him. Hence the almost universal use of an alternative name or nickname other than his true name. Among the tribes in Central Australia a man may have as many as seven distinct names (*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, by Spencer & Gillen). So, too, names are changed with us, as in the case of an honour conferred by a Peerage or Bishopric or on entrance into a Monastery or Nunnery. A child is baptised "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." In the Roman Catholic Church the Name Day is of more importance than the Birthday, and the relationship then acquired is sufficient to bring the god-parents within the prohibited degrees of marriage. In China a man is strictly forbidden to nominate as his heir an individual of a different surname (*Marriage, Affinity and Inheritance in China*, by W. H. Medhurst, Hongkong, 1855). Among the Ossetes a man is bound to take blood revenge for a cousin a hundred times removed, who bears his name, whereas relationship on the mother's side is not recognised (*Transcaucasia*, by A. von Haxthausen, 1854). Among many tribes a new name is given after the mysteries which accompany the assumption of manhood, and in the case of New South Wales natives they are given a white stone or quartz crystal at the same time and are called Kebarrah from Keba, a rock.[1] We are reminded of the words in Revelation: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it" (*Revelation*, ch. ii., v. 17).

Bro. W. J. Williams quotes the lines that Shakespeare puts in Juliet's mouth:—

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet";

but the context will at once show that this is merely a bit of special pleading on Juliet's part. Take, rather, the lines:—

"This day is called the feast of Crispian:
He that outlives this day and comes safe home,
Will stand a tiptoe when the day is named,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian."

*King Henry V.*, Act IV., Sc. 3.

Surely Shakespeare understood the worth of the saying, "A name to conjure with," and of the motto it carries with it, "Noblesse oblige."

Now to turn from the abstract to the concrete and give an example of a name chosen for a Lodge which may well supply a wealth of inward meaning to each Brother of that Lodge.

In 1900 the Artists Rifles and a few Cambridge friends decided to form a Lodge and call it "Rosemary." *Ros Marinum*—Sea Dew, a fitting symbol for an English Lodge. Sir Thomas More (1520) says: "As for Rosemarine I let it runne all over my garden walls, not onlie because my bees love it, but

[1] *Savage Life & Scenes in Australia & New Zealand*, by G. F. Angas, vol. ii., p. 221.

because 'tis the herb sacred to remembrance and therefore to friendship." Clement Robinson (1584), in a *Handfull of Pleasant Delites,'* says:—

"Rosemarie is for remembrance
Between us daie and night."

Shakespeare (1597) Friar Laurence says (*Romeo & Juliet*, Act IV., Sc. 5):—

"Dry up your tears, and stick your Rosemary
On this fair corse; and as the custom is,
In all her best array bear her to church."

Shakespeare (1604) Ophelia says (*Hamlet*, Act IV., Sc. 5): "There's Rosemary, that's for remembrance, pray, you, love, remember." Thomas Dekker (1603) tells in his *Wonderfull Yeare*: "Rosemary which had wont to sell for twelve pence an armefull went now [on account of the plague] at six shillings a handfull"; and also, speaking of a bride who died of the plague on her wedding day, says: "Here is a strange alteration, for the Rosemary that was washt in sweet water to set out the Bridall is now wet in Teares to furnish her Buriall." Herrick (1648), in the *Hesperides*:—

*The Rosemarie Branch*

"Grow for two ends; it matters not at all,
Be't for my Bridall, or my Buriall."

William Coles (1650), in his *Introduction to the knowledge of Plants*, says: "Cypress garlands are of great account at Funeralls amongst the gentiler sort, but Rosemary and Bayes are used by the commons both at Funeralls and Weddings." Charles Wheatly (1710) alludes to it in his *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer*, and tells how the cypress, when cut, dies away while the sprig of Rosemary sprouts up, a fitting emblem of life beyond the grave. Saxon MS. Herbal: "For the sickly take this wort rosemary, pound it with oil, smear the sickly one, wonderfully thou healest him." John Parkinson (1629), in his *Paradisi in sole Paradisus terrestris*, says: "The woody stem cloven into boards has been used for lutes and for carpenters measures . . . It is good for dimnesse of sight, clears the head and strengthens the memory, warms and comforts cold benummed sinews." Richard Estcourt (1706), in his play, *The Fair Example*, Act III., Sc. 1: "I dreamt last night of Rosemary; that betokens Honour." Hungary Water, which had a great vogue early in the eighteenth century, was made by infusing Rosemary flowers in rectified spirit and then distilling. Narbonne honey gets its special excellence by being collected from Rosemary flowers. Horace (B.C. 24), in his *Odes* Book III., Od. XXIII., says:—

"Te nihil attinet
Tentare multa caede bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto";

which Theodore Martin translates:—

"The little gods for humbler tribute call
Than blood of many victims; twine for them
Of rosemary a simple coronal
And the lush myrtle's frail and fragrant stem."

A Spanish proverb runs:—

"Quien pasa por romere, y no lo quiere coger,
Ni tiene amores ni los quiere tener";

which may be rendered:—

"Who passeth by the rosemarie
And careth not to take a spray
For woman's love no care hath he
Nor shall he though he live for aye."

In Spain Rosemary was worn as an antidote to the evil eye. It was an ingredient, too, of Don Quixote's famous Balsam of Fierabras. A Spanish legend tells us how it was a poor humble plant till one day the Virgin Mary was washing and hung up the clothes of the infant Jesus upon it to dry. Since then it became evergreen and fragrant. All the instruments of the Passion can be seen in its flower, and it puts forth fresh blossoms every Friday as if to embalm His Holy Body. Even in England you may find blossom off and on all the year round.

The boar's head is still served up on Christmas Day in the hall of Queen's College, Oxford, and the carol is then sung:—

"The boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedecked with bays and rosemary,
And I pray you my masters be merry
Quot estis in convivio
Caput apri defero
Reddens laudes Domino."

An old proverb says: "Where Rosemary flourishes the lady rules," nor would we have it otherwise with our Mother Lodge.

So for many centuries Rosemary has played no small part in the workaday life of the nation, and is an intimate symbol of companionship in the joys and sorrows of life, and that is what true friendship and brotherhood mean.

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Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

I would like to add my congratulations to those the essayist has already received. I found the paper extremely interesting, and it opens up a field of enquiry as to the names most favoured for Masonic Lodges in different countries. While I find myself unable to attempt anything in direct criticism of the paper, I would like to add a little in comparative criticism, by drawing a few parallels from the custom in Ireland.

In Ireland I think very few, if any, of the earliest Lodges had any names at all. In the beginning they were described by the taverns at which they met, just as in England. In 1732 the first warrants were issued; and within a very few years after that, my personal belief is before the end of 1734, an official number was attached to each warrant, and these numbers became a sort of ideograph of the Lodge, instead of a name. Such is the conservatism of our people that to this day, when every Lodge has its proper name, it is more customary in Ireland to refer to the Lodges by number, and you hear allusions to "Lodge Seven," or "Lodge Ten," instead of Acacia, or Ark, as the case may be.

Some of the very oldest Lodges in Ireland have adopted their names long after their warrants were first granted. Thus Cork Lodge No. 1 calls itself "Premier Lodge of Ireland"; Galway No. 14 is known as "Premier Lodge of Connaught." As the first-mentioned is a "time immemorial" and the second was warranted in 1732, and, may be "time immemorial" too, for all I can tell, I think it is obvious that these names were assumed at a period considerably later than the beginnings of the Lodges themselves. In any case, I know of no evidence to throw the names back before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Moreover, the various lists of Dublin Lodges published in the eighteenth century, as a rule, describe them merely by number, and not by name, even when such names were in existence. Yet some of the very early Lodges had names from the very earliest times. The most conspicuous example of this that occurs to me is "Crimson Lodge No. 21, Newport, Co. Galway," which was warranted in 1733 and had a life of nearly a century. The original warrant is extant and has the name of the Lodge inserted in the margin below. There was no space left for a name in the body of the earliest warrants. I think we

would be right in saying that for about the first twenty years of its existence the new Lodges that derived from the Grand Lodge of Ireland thought a great deal about their numbers, but about their names nothing at all.

About 1750 I find the first traces of the assumption of names becoming popular. In 1749 two new Lodges were warranted for the City of Dublin, Nos. 190 and 198; both these Lodges took the name of Royal Arch Lodge. Of these, Lodge 190 deserves especially to have its memory kept green, as it was through the munificence of its members that our Masonic Orphan Girls' School was started, in emulation of the Royal Cumberland School in England.

As regards names that became popular for Lodges in Ireland during the eighteenth century, to find illustrations for my remarks I went hastily through the first 250 numbers that have been issued in Ireland (some of them six times over at different periods), and the two titles "Union" and "True Blue" were bestowed upon quite a considerable number of them, beginning with the "Antient Union" Lodge No. 13, of Limerick, warranted in 1732. In this case, however, I think the name was in all probability considerably anterior to the first formation of the Lodge.

In Saints' names, St. Patrick, as is just and proper, easily heads the list, but St. John comes a very good second, and we also meet several St. Georges, St. Andrews, St. Jameses, and St. Pauls; while St. Finbar, St. Domangard, and St. Cecilia have at least one Lodge each dedicated to their memory.

Royal and noble personages gave their names to Victoria No. 4 (1805), Royal Albert No. 100 (1739), Sussex No. 137 (1842), Duke of York No. 141 (1744-1827), while the Prince of Wales No. 154, founded in 1813 and still in a most flourishing condition, reminds us of the estimation in which our Royal Family has always been held by the loyal members of the Craft.

Coming to great historical events we get Nelson No. 18 (1809); Wellington No. 82 (1810); and the Minden Lodge No. 63, held in the 20th Regt. at the time of that battle, and granted probably in 1737, the regiment afterwards receiving special permission from the Grand Lodge to call their Lodge by the name of the place where they had won deathless fame. Another Warrant, No. 128, granted to the 39th Regt. in 1742, was later known as the Gibraltar Lodge for a similar reason. Two other military Lodges deserve a reference: "The Lodge of the Social and Military Virtues" No. 227, held in the 46th Regt., under which warrant the first Masonic Lodge ever held in Australia took place; also No. 218, held in the 48th Regt. This latter relieved the 46th Regt. at Sydney, N.S.W., and proceeded to impart the benefits of Freemasonry to the settlers, and as a consequence the first Australian native Lodge, known as the "Australian Social Lodge No. 260," was warranted for Sydney by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1820. Thus, though I have been unable to discover a name borne by No. 218, the name that it ought to bear in our memory is that of the "Mother of Australian Freemasonry."

Other very popular names in Ireland were Acacia, Emerald, Concord, Harmony, Star, Excelsior and Temple; sometimes a district gave the title, such as in the case of that splendid old Lodge Dunboyne No. 60, Ennis; sometimes the trade of the majority of the members, such as "Ship Carpenters" No. 118, Belfast (1817); "Coopers" No. 150, Belfast (1811). I am also pleased to find a Corinthian and an Ionic in the Irish list, and if I had looked more closely would, no doubt, have found a Doric as well. Hiram is borne by several; Boyne and Orange by not a few eighteenth century Lodges; but since 1795 the latter has been changed for another. Thus No. 315, Tanderagee, which is now No. 79, whose aprons you have admired to-night, began life in 1759 as Orange Lodge, but is now known as St. Patrick's.

I will mention only one other, this is Bezaleel Select Lodge No. 31, Bandon, warranted in 1787 and cancelled in 1818. In 1877 a new Lodge, No. 234, was formed in Bandon, and was also named Bezaleel, after the older Lodge. The name seems noteworthy to me, because the word does not now occur in any Irish Masonic ceremony with which I am acquainted.

Let me just mention, in closing, that towards the close of the eighteenth century the Grand Lodge of Ireland got alarmed at some of the names that were being assumed by its Lodges, and issued an order that none might be taken in future without permission. The latest type of name to be barred is that of living brothers, of whom not a few can boast of having become godfather to a Lodge, and thus attaining Masonic immortality.

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Bro. W. B. Hextall *writes*:—

Bro. Williams has compiled an interesting paper on a subject which I do not think has before received any sustained attention. Dr. Oliver, in his *Book of the Lodge*, 1849-1864, included a chapter upon the name of a Lodge, and in 1915 attention was called to a somewhat unsatisfactory fashion of naming Lodges after not always distinguished individuals still alive;[1] but, generally speaking, the nomenclature of Lodges has not until now furnished a topic to Masonic writers.

To the moral or theological virtue of Hope may be added the Hope Valley Lodge No. 3397, at the consecration of which, in 1909, the Provincial Grand Chaplain somewhat aptly said, in his address: "For Hope, the eternal hills surround us; gaining inspiration from their heights may our lives be transfigured by the Eternal Light Divine, that when we descend into the Valley and meet the needy and distressed we may administer comfort, relief, and healing to all within the length of our cable tow."

From Tranquillity (No. 185) it is not a far cry to Repose (No. 802), but it should be explained that the Lodge of Repose was initially intended to consist of Past Masters only, though a very few years sufficed for abandonment of the idea. Haven of Peace (No. 4385) and Haven of Rest (No. 4350) seem near akin to the last-named.

The sporting element appears in the Foxhunters' Lodge No. 3094, the Golfers' Lodge No. 3512, and the Izaak Walton Lodge No. 4281.

History is commemorated in Runymede No. 2430, and Restoration No. 111; also in Sir Francis Drake Lodges Nos. 2649, 4240, and 4375, Sir John Hawkins No. 3704, the Armada Lodge No. 4360, and, variously, in the Tudor Lodge of Rifle Volunteers No. 1838.

Some whimsical appearances come from perpetuating bygone and obsolete names of towns; for instance, Gippeswyk (Ipswich) No. 4254; Beaureper (Belper) No. 787; Cestrefeld (Chesterfield) No. 3889; and Cytringan (Kettering) No. 4048. If by some thought a savour of pedantry, at least no harm is done by these archaisms.

It is no particular credit to the Craft that, after the William Preston Lodge No. 766 had been founded, in 1858, it was not until 1919 that any Lodge thought worth while to identify itself (except in one or two instances, given in the paper) with any prominent writer in Freemasonry, when—over fifty years after the well-known author's death—the Dr. Oliver Lodge No. 3964 came into being at Peterborough.

Though the name of Sir Walter Scott has not been utilised, some of his works yet live in titles of the Ivanhoe Lodge No. 1779, and the Rotherwood Lodge No. 4392; besides the Dorothy Vernon Lodge No. 2129, not very far, locally, from the Peveril of the Peak, which has been mentioned. Charles Dickens is also called to mind by the Pickwick Lodge No. 2467.

Occasionally it is hard to surmise the 'why or wherefore' of a name. Lodge No. 884 (Wirksworth) and Lodge No. 40 are both named Derwent Lodge; for the first a neighbouring well-known river supplies the obvious reason, but what 'Derwent' had to do at Hastings furnished a puzzle to the late Bro. Arthur Carpenter, when he, as Master, welcomed our Quatuor Coronati 'Outing' there in 1913, and, I believe, remains a puzzle still.

[1] *Miscellanea Latomorum* iii., 10.

A commentator should not occupy too much time, and I will but instance two names of Lodges seemingly pointing to local tradition—Hemlock Stone (Notts.) No. 3734 and Hadley High Stone (New Barnet) No. 4203.

Bro. Williams, who may be reminded that there exists in London an Arthur Williams Lodge No. 3052, is to be congratulated on his pleasant excursion into pastures new.

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Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump *writes*:—

Many thanks for advance-proof of Bro. W. J. Williams' interesting and instructive paper on the Nomenclature of Lodges. One—only one—serious defect occurs to my mind, and that is that it might advantageously have been more ample and exhaustive. Probably the author had fully justifiable reasons for selecting some instances while rejecting others, but his reasons are difficult to surmise consistently. With a view, therefore, to shun seemingly invidious distinctions between Lodges (especially as some have, and all *can* have, representatives in our Correspondence Circle) by his numerous omissions, I venture to make the following addenda.

In drawing attention to the fact that the universality of Freemasonry is exemplified by Lodges having names involving ideas of *Time* and *Space*, Bro. Williams mentions only Antiquity (2) in the former category, to which the Past and Present (2665) and Era (1423) could be added—unless the latter title was derived from a well-known theatrical periodical. By the way, there are other Lodges of Antiquity besides the one of T.I. fame. Similarly, under the heading of *Space* such Lodges as Ubique (1789) and Kosmos (2768) may claim to be classed.

Then reference is made to Lodges named after one or other of the Cardinal Virtues; but Lodge No. 979, whose name combines the four, was ignored. A familiar Masonic triad of similar moral excellencies—*Truth*, *Honour* and *Virtue*—is quoted, and two instances of *Truth* as a Lodge-name are referred to, viz., Nos. 521 and 1458; but why should not two corresponding instances of *Honour* (379 and 526) be given, and even three of *Virtue*, viz., Nos. 152, 332 and 494—all of them Lodges of long standing?

In connection with another and similar triad—*Wisdom*, *Strength* and *Beauty*—the Strong Man (45) is mentioned. The individual thus anonymously commemorated was, I believe, a local celebrity; but London has also a Lodge named after his Biblical prototype Samson (1668). This latter omission might have been condoned if Samson had been included subsequently in the author's Old Testament list, but it is absent there also. The three Lodges of the Three Grand Principles should be Nos. 208, 441 and 967 (not 408).

Let me next turn to a class of names of qualities summarized by Bro. Williams under their common termination—*ity*. From his list of such names he has omitted such apposite instances as Probity (61, 337), Prosperity (65, 2607), Integrity (163, 380), Equality (1145) and Hospitality (1697); whilst additional instances of Equity, Unity, Sincerity, Stability and Tranquillity could have been quoted out of consideration of other Lodges' susceptibility, especially as the Sincerity (3677) really traces back to 1786. Another class which is similarly summarized comprises names ending in *ic*, and that should include also Esoteric (3566) and Pacific (1229), both at the Antipodes.

To his list of Lodges named after other morally good qualities one may add Candour (337), Rectitude (355, 502, 3597), Sympathy (483, 855), Independence (721), Endeavour (830, 1595), Clemency (2341), Fervency (3589), and certainly Research (2429 and 3184); even if Repose (802) and Nirvana (2590) be deemed by some Brethren rather dubious as Masonic ideals. It is rather remarkable that though Lodges of *Freedom* and *Fervency* exist we have no special representative of *Zeal*.

Passing on to names derived from styles of architecture we may add Lombardian (2348) and Renaissance (3408); whilst Bro. Williams' list of

"completed buildings" should certainly include the Parthenon (1826) and the Athenæum (1491), inasmuch as the latter existed at Rome before it became famous in London. Why should an Abbey be included in that category, and yet a Cathedral (2741) be excluded? And why should a Tower in Liverpool be omitted whilst a Pyramid in Queensland is recorded? May I further add that Masonry now possesses three Temples, three Priories, and even three Castles (not nicotian).

To the author's list of appropriated names derived from the Old Testament should be added King Solomon (2029) and Cyrus (1359). New Testament names, though not so obvious, are even more numerous, although he took no account of them. Such instances may be adduced as Antioch (3271), Sylvanus (3670), Star in the East (650) and Star of Bethlehem (2522), Holy Cross (3679), three Samaritans, four Evangelists, and most of the Apostles (including SS. Paul and Barnabas). Among mythic heroes of Greece he could have included Orpheus (1706) and Eurydice (1920), Ixion (2501) and the Argonauts (2243). Of fictional heroes Dickens is represented by Pickwick as well as Cheerybles, and Scott by Marmion as well as Peveril of the Peak. Among the constellations Orion (415) was conspicuously absent. The Saxon King Oswald is commemorated by No. 3306; whilst last (but by no means least) among famous Freemasons whose names are similarly commemorated Bro. Waller Rodwell Wright deserves mention as the cognomen of No. 2755.

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Bro. W. J. Williams *writes* as follows, in reply:—

I must thank all the Brethren for the kind reception given to me and my paper. It was written within three years of my being made a Mason; and the fact that it was accepted has greatly encouraged me in endeavouring to make advancement in Masonic knowledge.

Bro. Bradley and Bro. Hextall, two of the members of the Lodge who honoured me by commenting on my paper, passed away very soon after it was read.

Brother Bradley, in the address he gave following his Installation as Master of the Lodge, urged the members of the Correspondence Circle to submit papers, and indicated the statistics of the Craft as affording materials upon which to work. It was as a direct consequence of that suggestion that my paper was submitted.

Brother Hextall passed away within a few hours after my paper was read. His kind and hearty geniality will always be treasured in my memory.

It is a melancholy satisfaction to me that my first Masonic writing should have elicited their final contributions to these *Transactions*.

I must now thank the Brethren who have dealt with the subject, both in the Lodge and by writing.

Their additions to the examples quoted by me are very welcome. Obviously some few of them are better chosen than mine were; but this was only to be expected, as I did not profess to exhaust the subject, but only to introduce it.

The primary difficulty in dealing with matters of classification is to make the result readable: otherwise one may easily convert hearers into heroes.

It would indeed be interesting to compile a paper showing, as Bro. Baxter and others have suggested, the reason for the choice of certain names in connection with class and other Lodges. This topic was, in fact, mentioned by me in the penultimate paragraph of my paper; but the information is not easily obtained, and the result might fill a large volume, especially if the matter were worthily dealt with on the lines exemplified by Bro. Armitage's contribution on the implications arising from the name of the Lodge Rosemary.

There are a few points in Bro. Bradley's remarks to which I should particularly refer.

I did not omit "Tuscan," but I quoted the name as belonging to No. 1027. In deference to him I have inserted the number of the earlier Lodge, especially as another Brother wanted to know why I had passed that number over. I was not attempting to settle questions of precedence, but only to quote some authority for each name selected.

"Abiff" No. 2810 *is* in the Bible. It is not in the Authorised Version it is true, but it is in the original Hebrew and (as Bro. Tuckett has reminded me) it is to be found in Bishop Coverdale's version as well as in other versions referred to in the *Transactions*. See, for instance, *A.Q.C.*, vol. v., p. 138.[1]

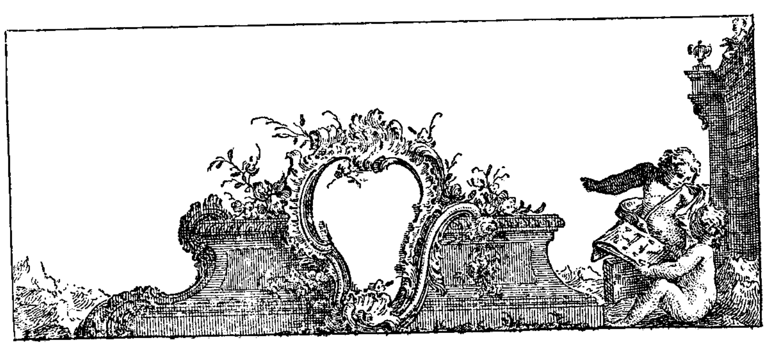
Furthermore, the German version by Luther, which is, I believe, to this day the version in common use in Germany, shows the name "Huram-Abif" in two places, viz., II. Chron. ii., 13, and iv., 16.

As to the Lion and the Lamb not being in the Bible, I admit the strict accuracy of our Brother's criticism so far as the exact phrase is concerned; but the first passage he quotes is usually called to remembrance (as it was to him) when the two animals are thought of as in peaceful juxtaposition.

When I compiled my paper I used the list given in the Masonic Year Book for 1921. That has three indexes to the names of Lodges, viz., one each for London, Provincial, and District Lodges. My task would have been much easier had I known of the index in Bro. John Lane's Masonic Records, which brings in all the names, up to the Coolgardie Lodge No. 2543, under one index.

As a final note, it happens that, on the day this reply is written I have found in the *Freemason's Magazine and Masonic Mirror* for 2nd August, 1862 (page 87) a very interesting note on Lodge Nomenclature embodying a paper written by Dr. Mackey in 1856. That note is well worthy of being read by anyone who desires further to investigate the subject.

[1] I believe there is a tabulated list of versions somewhere in *A.Q.C.*, but I cannot find it now.



# AN ENGRAVED LIST OF LODGES FOR 1728.

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*BY BRO. W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.*

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THE Library of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire has recently become the fortunate possessor of Engraved Lists of Lodges for the years 1728 and 1737.

Several other copies of the 1737 List are known, and it would be useful if these were compared carefully with the newly discovered copy in order to ascertain to what extent, if any, changes were made during the year. It must be borne in mind that the actual copper plates from which these Lists were printed, were used for several years in succession, new Lodges being added at the end, while those which had gone out of existence were rubbed from the plates. In some cases it is to be feared that the engraver inserted new Lodges in the blank spaces thus caused, but eventually these blanks became so numerous that it was found necessary to close up the Lodges and engrave new plates entirely.

As is well known, the early Lists, whether Engraved or in MS., do not show the Lodges in the order of their Constitution, and in December, 1727, a resolution was passed by Grand Lodge by which Lord Coleraine, Grand Master, Alexander Chocke, Deputy Grand Master, and Nathaniel Blackerby and Joseph Highmore, Grand Wardens, were appointed a Committee "to enquire into the Precedency of the several Lodges, and to make Report thereof at the next Quarterly Communication in order that the same may be finally settled, and entered accordingly." At the next meeting (April, 1728) "most of the Lodges present delivered the Date of the time of their being Constituted into Lodges, in order to have Precedency in the printed Book." At the meeting in June, 1728, other Lodges gave the required particulars, and the remainder were desired to do so before the next Quarterly Communication. In November, 1728, the Lodges were called "according to their Seniority," but unfortunately only about half of those on the List answered to their names. However, the information thus obtained enabled a more satisfactory List to be prepared and engraved for the year 1729, when in effect the system of numbering the Lodges was first adopted.

The List of 1728, of which a *facsimile* is here given, is the only copy known for that year, and it therefore needs a very careful examination. Compared with the earlier known Engraved Lists (1723 and 1725) it will be noticed that numbers are placed in the first column while the others do not contain them; and compared with the 1729 Engraved List it will be seen that the latter for the first time gives dates of Constitution. The numbers in the 1728 List do not, I think, indicate an actual numbering of the Lodges, but only their arrangement in numerical order. In Minutes of Grand Lodge during 1727 and 1728 the Lodges attending had numbers prefixed. They are, however, not placed as a means of identification, but simply to indicate the order in which they attended or answered to their names, so that—to give an example—a Lodge at the Ship Tavern, Fish Street Hill, which was actually No. 22 in 1729 List, was entered at three meetings as 9, 11, and 12. In the 1728 List it is in the 38th place.

The 1728 List, like its predecessors (and successors down to 1741) is the work of John Pine, the well-known engraver (1690-1756), who at that time resided in Aldersgate Street, over against the end of Little Britain. The last Lodge of which particulars are given is numbered 86, but as 29 places are blank, only 57 Lodges are represented. The last Lodge (at the Woolpack, Warwick)

was constituted in April, 1728, and it seems evident that the plates were first engraved for use in 1727 or more probably in 1726, as it is unlikely that so many Lodges would have gone out of existence during the first four months of 1728. That this particular edition of the List was issued early in 1728 is indicated by the omission of the Lodge at Madrid, whose constitution was reported to, and approved by, Grand Lodge at the meeting on 17th April of that year.

No. 1 is the present Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, No. 1 of the Four Old Lodges, No. I. in Anderson's List, and No. 1 in the List of 1729, by which date it had moved from the Goose and Gridiron to the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard.

No. 2 is No. 2 of the Four Old Lodges, No. II. in Anderson's List, and No. 2 in the List of 1729 when it had moved from the Rose and Rummer, Furnival's Inn, to the Rose and Buffalo, Holborn. It was erased in 1736.

No. 3 at the Queen's Head, Knaves Acre, is No. 3 of the Four Old Lodges, and No. III. in Anderson's List, originally meeting at the Apple Tree, Covent Garden. Its members accepted 'Constitution' by Grand Lodge in 1723, and in consequence it lost its seniority, becoming No. 11 in the List of 1729. It is now the Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland No. 12.

No. 4 at the Horn, Westminster, is No. 4 of the Four Old Lodges, and No. IV. in Anderson's List. It became No. 3 in the List of 1729, and is now represented by the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4.

No. 5 at the King's Head, Ivy Lane, constituted January, 1721, became No. 4 in the List of 1729, and is now the Lodge of Friendship No. 6.

No. 6 at the Green Dragon, Snow Hill, is attributed to the present Lodge of Emulation No. 21, which was No. 19 in the List of 1729, with Constitution of May, 1723. It was No. IX. in Anderson's List.

No. 7 at the Three Cranes, Poultry, was constituted in July, 1721. It became No. 5 in the List of 1729, and was erased in 1745.

Nos. 8 and 9 are blank. I suggest that the Lodge at the Three Compasses, Silver Street, Golden Square, may originally have filled the first of these spaces. It is entered in the 9th place in Lists of 1723 and 1725, and on 27th March, 1729, its members petitioned Grand Lodge to be restored, stating that "they had been discontinued for some time, but being again revived" their petition was granted though they never appeared again. No. 9 was probably the Lodge which met in 1723 and 1725 at the Rose and Crown, King Street, Westminster—No. XVIII. in Anderson's List.

No. 10 at the Globe, Fleet Street, cannot be identified. A Lodge meeting at this house appears in the 12th place in the 2nd edition of the List of 1725, having formerly met at the Greyhound, but apparently it went out of existence before the List of 1729 was prepared. It was No. XV. of Anderson's List.

Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are blank. Comparing the Lists of 1723 and 1725 we might assume that the Lodges originally inserted here were those at the Crown, Cripplegate, the Rummer, Charing Cross, and the Half Moon, Strand, but the first of these seems to have been identified with No. 24 of the List of 1729, which subsequently moved to the Bedford's Head, Covent Garden. I cannot at present see any reason for connecting Cripplegate with Covent Garden, and I would rather suggest that the Crown Lodge was out of existence in 1725 and that the Bedford's Head was a new creation. See No. 76 below.

No. 14 at Muzins Coffee House, near the Seven Dials, is a very interesting entry, as no Lodge has hitherto been known to have met at this house. I think we may identify it with the Lodge noted in 1723 and 1725 as meeting at the Castle, St. Giles', in the same neighbourhood. It was No. XIII. in Anderson's List, and it had gone out of existence before the List of 1729 was prepared.

No 15 is blank. Apparently it was the 20th Lodge in the 1723 and 1725 Lists meeting at the Cardigan's Head, Charing Cross.

No. 16 had met at the Swan, Fish Street Hill, from 1723, but went out of existence before 1729.

No. 17 at the Bull's Head, Southwark, was constituted in April, 1723. It became No. 15 in 1729, and was erased in 1776.

No. 18 at the Anchor, Duchy Lane, Strand, was constituted in March, 1723, and was entered as No. 13 in the List of 1729. It is now represented by the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20, at Chatham.

Nos. 19 and 20 are blank, and the spaces had apparently been filled by Lodges meeting at the Baptist's Head, Chancery Lane, and the Sun Tavern, Clare Market.

No. 21 at the Half Moon, Cheapside, was constituted in September, 1723. It became No. 23 in 1729, and is now the Globe Lodge No. 23.

No. 22 at the Crown, behind the Royal Exchange, was constituted in January, 1722, and became No. 7 in 1729. It is now the Westminster and Keystone Lodge No. 10.

No. 23 at the Paul's Head, Ludgate Street, was apparently the Lodge which had met in 1725 at the Three Tuns, Newgate Street. It went out of existence before 1729.

No. 24 at the One Tun, Noble Street, is said to have been the Lodge which was constituted in May, 1722, and met at the Fountain, in the Strand, but I doubt this connexion. It became No. 9 in 1729, and is now represented by the Royal Alpha Lodge No. 16. The Lodge at the Fountain was No. VIII. in Anderson's List.

No. 25 is blank and apparently represents the Lodge which had been meeting at the Denmark's Head, Cavendish Street. It was No. XX. in Anderson's List.

No. 26 at the Three Tuns, Swithin's Alley, was constituted in March, 1723. It became No. 12 in 1729, and is now the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18.

No. 27 is blank, and the space had evidently been occupied by the Lodge at the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard, in the 32nd place in the Lists of 1725.

No. 28 at the Queen's Head, Great Queen Street, was constituted in March, 1723, and it became No. 14 in 1729. It was erased in 1782 and again in 1830.

No. 29 at the Lion, Brewers Street, Golden Square, was constituted in November, 1722. It became No. 10 in 1729, and is now represented by the Tuscan Lodge No. 14.

No. 30 is blank, and would seem to have been occupied by the Lodge meeting in 1725 at the Ship, Royal Exchange, which was constituted in May, 1723. If this be so the Lodge must have been revived later in the year as it appears as No. 18 in the 1729 List. It was erased in 1745.

No. 31 at the Dolphin, Tower Street, Seven Dials, was constituted in June, 1723, became No. 20 in 1729, and was erased in 1745.

No. 32 at the Chandos Arms, Edgware, was constituted in April, 1722, and became No. 8 in the List of 1729. It is suggested that in that year the Lodge was removed to the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, but it seems more likely that the latter was a new Lodge which took the place of the one at Edgware. It was erased in 1744.

Nos. 33, 34, 35 and 36 are blank, and the spaces may be filled by Lodges which had met at the Crown, Acton; the King's Head, Pall Mall; Dick's Coffee House, Strand; and the Ship, Temple Bar.

No. 37 at the Nag's Head, Princess Street, Drury Lane, was constituted in August, 1723, and became No. 21 in 1729. It was erased in 1782.

No. 38 at the Ship, Fish Street Hill, was constituted in September, 1723. It became No. 22 in 1729, and was erased in 1803.

No. 39 is blank, and may be put down for the Lodge at the Bell, King Street, Westminster, in the 45th place in 1725.

No. 40 at the Globe, Strand, would appear to be the Lodge meeting earlier at the Star and Garter, York Street, Covent Garden; No. XII. in Anderson's List. If so it went out of existence before the 1729 List was prepared. (See *Q.C.A.* x., 88, 92.)

No. 41 is blank, and it would therefore seem that the Lodge which had met at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, in 1723 and 1725, had gone out of existence. But a Lodge constituted at the same house in March, 1724, became No. 26 in 1729, and appears to have taken this position. It was erased in 1745.

No. 42 had been meeting at Tom's Coffee House, Clare Street, near Clare Market, from 1723 and perhaps earlier. It is said to have been constituted in January, 1722. It became No. 6 in 1729, and is now the British Lodge No. 8. The fact that it occupies so low a place in the Lists for 1723, 1725 and 1728 causes me to have some doubt about the continuity.

No. 43 at the Red Lion, Tottenham Court Road, was constituted in April, 1723, and it became No. 16 in 1729, being erased in 1745.

No. 44 at the Crown and Sceptres, St. Martin's Lane, appears in the List of 1723 as meeting at the Blue Posts, Holborn. It was actually constituted in March, 1724, and became No. 27 in 1729. It was erased in 1745.

No. 45 at the Red Lion, Richmond, Surrey, was probably constituted about the same time, but it did not come into the List of 1729. There was, however, a Lodge at the same house, said to have been constituted in 1728, which appeared the following year as No. 55. It was erased in 1797.

No. 46 was constituted in 1724 at the Queen's Head, Bath, and appeared in 1729 as No. 28. It was erased in 1736.

No. 47 at the Nags Head, Bristol, constituted in 1724, became No. 29 in 1729. It was erased in 1736.

No. 48 at the Maid's Head, Norwich, also dates from 1724. In 1729 it is entered as No. 30, and it remained in existence until 1809.

No. 49 at the Swan, Chichester, was constituted in July, 1724, though it is said to have been in existence in 1696. It was entered as No. 31 in the 1729 List, and was erased in 1769.

No. 50 at the Pied Bull, Chester, had been constituted in 1724 at the Spread Eagle in that City. It became No. 32 in 1729, and was erased in 1755.

Nos. 51 and 52 are blank and may be filled with Lodges which had met at the Masons Arms, Fulham, and the Leg Tavern, Fleet Street. As such they appear in the 59th and 60th places in the 1725 List.

No. 53 at the Rummer, Paternoster Row, appears to have been identified as the Lodge, constituted in April, 1725, which had been meeting at the Mitre, Covent Garden, being entered in the 75th place in the 1725 List. It was erased in 1830. But see No. 68 below.

No. 54 is blank and may have been the Lodge meeting in 1725 at the Black Posts, Cockpit Court, Great Wild Street.

No. 55 at the Swan, East Lane, Greenwich, is said to have been constituted in December, 1723. It was entered as No. 25 in the List for 1729, and was erased in 1800.

Nos. 56, 57 and 58 are blank, and, presumably, had been filled with Lodges in the 63rd, 64th and 65th places in the 1725 List, meeting respectively at the Queen's Head, Holles Street; the Fleece, Fleet Street; and the Crown and Harp, St. Martin's Lane. Bro. Lane, however, appears to have identified the Lodge at the Fleece, Fleet Street, with a Lodge at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane, which became No. 39 in 1729, and lapsed about 1751. This Lodge, which was constituted in February, 1726, always seems to have met within a hundred yards of the Royal Exchange, and I see nothing to connect it with the Lodge in Fleet Street. See No. 74 below.

No. 59 at the Cross Keys, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, had been constituted at the Rummer, Henrietta Street, in July, 1724. It became No. 37 in 1729, and lapsed in 1746.

No. 60, the "French Lodge" at the King's Arms, Strand, had met earlier at Solomon's Temple, Hemming's Row, St. Martin's Lane. It lapsed before 1729.

No. 61 is blank and may be filled by the Lodge at Lebeck's Head, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, the 68th Lodge in the 1725 List.

No. 62 at the Red Lion, Brentford, lapsed before 1729.

No. 63 at the King's Arms, Westminster, had apparently been constituted in May, 1725, at the Hand and Apple Tree, Little Queen Street. It became No. 41 in 1729, and was erased in 1737.

No. 64 at King Henry the Eighth's Head, St. Andrew's Street, Seven Dials, became No. 42 in 1729, and was erased in 1742.

Nos. 65 and 66 are blank. The former number appears to have been identified with a Lodge constituted in January, 1725, at the Blue Posts, Temple Bar, which became No. 38 in 1729 (now the Castle Lodge of Harmony No. 26), but the connexion is doubtful. See No. 73 below. No. 66 was at the Mitre, Reading.

No. 67 at the Rose, Grafton Street, Seven Dials, is apparently the Lodge constituted in May, 1725, at Freemasons' Coffee House, Long Acre. It became No. 43 in 1729, and is now the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28. Lane does not note this place of meeting, but gives the Rose, Marylebone, from 1728 to 1731. This seems to me unlikely, and although it so appears in the 1729 List I am inclined to think that there has been a confusion between two different Lodges meeting at the 'Rose.'

No. 68 at the Mitre, Covent Garden, appears to me to be the 75th Lodge in the 1725 List, which was constituted in April, 1725, at this house, becoming No. 40 in 1729. It was erased in 1830. But see No. 53 above.

No. 69 at the Golden Lion, Dean Street, Soho, constituted in September, 1725, became No. 44 in 1729. It was erased in 1744.

No. 70 at the Castle and Falcon, Watergate Street, Chester, had been constituted in 1724, and became No. 33 in 1729. It was erased in 1739.

Nos. 71 and 72 are blank. I can make no suggestion as to the Lodges which were in these spaces and under No. 77. At No. 70 we come to the end of the second 1725 List, and there is nothing later wherewith to compare.

No. 73 at the Swan, Tottenham High Cross, would appear to be No. 38 of 1729, now the Castle Lodge of Harmony No. 26. But see No. 65 above. These two numbers cannot both refer to the same Lodge, and I am inclined to think that the Castle Lodge was constituted in January, 1726, not 1725 as suggested.

No. 74 at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane, was constituted in February, 1726. It became No. 39 in 1729, and lapsed after 1756. See No. 57 above.

No. 75 at the Nag's Head, Carmarthen, had been constituted in 1724. It came into the 1729 List as No. 34, and was erased in 1754.

No. 76 at the Crown, Cripplegate, cannot be identified. There is apparently some confusion with No. 24 of 1729, which is said to have met at this house in 1723, moving to Covent Garden in 1729. See No. 11 above.

No. 77 is blank. See note under No. 71 above.

No. 78 at the Magpie, Bishopsgate, was constituted in January, 1726, and became No. 45 in 1729. It was erased in 1737.

No. 79 at the East India Arms, Gosport, was constituted in February, 1726, having met from 1724. It appears as No. 35 in the 1729 List, and was erased in 1838.

No. 80 at the Angel, Congleton, also dated from 1724. It became No. 36 in 1729, and was erased in 1754.

No. 81 at the Mount Coffee House, Grosvenor Street, was constituted in January, 1727, and became No. 46 in the 1729 List. It was erased in 1748.

No. 82 at the Three Crowns, Stoke Newington, was constituted in August, 1727, and was entered as No. 47 in the 1729 List. It was erased in 1743.

No. 83 at the King's Head, Salford, was constituted in 1727, and became No. 48 in 1729. It was erased in 1754.

No. 84 at the Castle and Leg, Holborn, was constituted in January, 1728. It appears as No. 49 in the 1729 List, and is the present St. Alban's Lodge No. 29.

No. 85 at the Green Lattice, Holborn, was constituted in April, 1728, and though it was entered as No. 51 in the List of 1729, it lapsed before the end of that year.

No. 86 at the Woolpack, Warwick, was constituted in April, 1728. It became No. 52 in the 1729 List, and was erased in 1754.

It will be noticed that two Lodges in the 1729 enumeration are not accounted for in our 1728 List—Nos. 17 and 50. The second of these, at Madrid, I have already referred to. The absence of No. 17 is more difficult to explain. The Lodge at the Buffalo, Bloomsbury, which took this number in 1729, is said to have been constituted in April, 1723, at Ben's Coffee House, New Bond Street. The first List of 1725 shows it at the Bull's Head, Vere Street, and in the second List of that year it appears at the Buffalo, at which house it is said to have remained until 1731; but no Lodge at that house is given in the 1728 List. Apparently it should have been entered between No. 25, which I have assumed to be the place of the extinct Lodge at the Denmark's Head, Cavendish Square, and No. 26 (afterwards No. 12) at the Three Tuns, Cornhill. If, however, we take it that the Denmark's Head Lodge had lapsed before the engraving of the 1728 plates and that the blank No. 25 had held the Lodge at the Buffalo, then it is evident that the latter had gone out of existence before April, 1728, and that it is a new Lodge at the Buffalo which appears as No. 17 in the List of 1729. I am the more inclined to make this last suggestion because the first recorded attendance of its members at Grand Lodge is on 27th December, 1728. I believe that there was a further lapse in 1736, and that, in fact, *three* distinct Lodges are entered under No. 17. It was erased in 1745.

It is, perhaps, not remarkable that the Lodges in this List of 1728 are entered almost precisely in the same order as those in 1725. So closely, in fact, do these Lists correspond that I have looked with very great suspicion at any attempted identification which alters their position. The most glaring case is No. 24 at the One Tun, Noble Street, which has been connected with a much earlier Lodge meeting from 1723 to 1725 at the Fountain in the Strand. I consider that the latter had lapsed before our 1728 List was prepared, and that the One Tun was a new creation. No. 24 is now the Royal Alpha Lodge No. 16.

It will be seen that this List throws fresh light on the history of many of the old Lodges, and it is to be hoped that gaps which are still noticeable in the very interesting series will be filled by fresh discoveries, and their contents made known for the benefit of Masonic students. Our thanks are due to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire, and particularly to Bro. F. G. Swinden, the Prov. Grand Secretary, for giving facilities for this List to be examined and reproduced.

# St. John's Day in Harvest

SATURDAY, 23rd JUNE, 1923.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present: Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., W.Yorks., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. C. Stoate, S. W. Rodgers, G.Stew., Wm. C. Terry, W. O. Steinthal, P.G.D., W. Douglass, Abdul Rahman, E. Pickstone, J. Walter Hobbs, F. C. Elliston-Erwood, Geo. Simpson, Jno. Harrison, W. Young, A. J. Prewer, B. Telepneff, H. W. Morrieson, P.Dep.G.D.C.; Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C.; Walter Dewes, R. H. S. Roberts, Fredk. Bare, A. G. Harper, R. C. Rann, E. H. Rann, Hy. Marshall, A. Presland, Jas. Hillman, F. C. Bickell, B. O. Street, L. G. Wearing, G. W. Bullamore, Geo. C. Williams, H. G. Gold, W. J. D. Roberts, L. A. Engel, W. E. Gilliland, A. Gilchrist, Jas. W. Butler, S. E. de Haas, A. I. Ludlow, B. A. Fersht, Walter H. Brown, H. A. Matheson, G. W. Richmond, and R. F. J. Colsell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. M. A. Rahman, Empire Lodge No. 2108; N. Hackney, S.W., Gymkhana Lodge No. 3796; Allan C. Rose, Panmure Lodge No. 715; F. A. M. Taylor, P.M., Star of India Lodge No. 3444; Amos Perry, P.M., King Alfred Lodge No. 2945; H. O. Ellis, W.M., Cadogan Lodge No. 162; F. Jones, J.W., Letchworth Lodge No. 3505; and Cyril J. Hyde, Goulburn Lodge No. 3478.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, I.P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, I.G.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. Heron Lepper, S.D.

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The Worshipful Master read the following

## IN MEMORIAM.

### WILLIAM BROWN HEXTALL

(1847—1923).

It is with very deep regret that I have to report the death of our Junior Warden, Wor. Bro. William Brown Hextall, on the day following our last regular meeting.

Although our Secretary, Bro. Songhurst, had had a letter—very shakily written—from him only two days before his death telling of a high temperature and the possibility of a nursing home, none of us realized that his ailment was to develop into pneumonia and to prove fatal.

Our deceased Brother had endeared himself to us all by his charming old-world courtesy and his never-failing readiness to assist in our labours. His precise diction, clear phraseology and cogent reasoning made him an acceptable contributor to all our discussions, but, perhaps, above all, he was in his happiest vein when proposing or responding to toasts at our social board.

Bro. Hextall was installed in the Chair of this Lodge on the Festival of the Quatuor Coronati, 1914, on which occasion a sketch of his career, up to that date, was given by Bro. Edward Armitage. (*A.Q.C.* xxvii., 228.) His year of office was rather a strenuous one, for we find his name appearing under eleven different headings in the index to our *Transactions* during his term. The great Masonic historian, Gould, died during his reign, and it became Bro. Hextall's sad duty to write his "In Memoriam" notice. Another task—and this time quite a pleasant one—was to compile a sketch of Bro. Songhurst's Masonic career to accompany his portrait in vol. xxviii. He took part in the discussions of all five papers read during his year, and contributed an essay on "Free-Mason, about 1700, A.D.," and a note on "Eugenius Philalethes—Robert Samber," and concluded by proposing the toast of his successor, Bro. Wonnacott, in his own inimitable way.

In 1916 (*A.Q.C.*, vol xxix.) Bro. Hextall favoured us with an essay on "Orator Henley," and a note on "Thomas Grinsell," besides adding to discussions on three occasions.

The last of the actual papers which Bro. Hextall read to us was on "The Craft in the Law Courts" (*A.Q.C.* xxx., 243), and in the same volume he had an interesting note on "Oliver Cromwell and the Craft"; nor were these all his efforts, for we find four lengthy criticisms on papers by other authors.

The year 1918 was enriched, so far as our *Transactions* are concerned, by a note on "Early Freemasonry in U.S.A.," and by four other contributions from Bro. Hextall's pen.

*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxii., includes five notes from our lamented Brother, including "Maister Mason, &c.," which emphasises the point that the old-time Master Mason corresponded with our modern architect.

Vol. xxxiii., *A.Q.C.*, has nine communications from Bro. Hextall comprising a review of Bro. Heiron's "Old Dundee Lodge," notes on "The Four Old Lodges," "Freemason, 1754," "The Tower of London," and "Freemasons at Canterbury in 1732," and discussions.

The last part of *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxiv., just published, shows from the index that Bro. Hextall had contributed on three occasions in 1921, the most interesting of which to me personally is the note on the "Society of Moonkification," as I had previously called attention to the same subject.

Bro. Songhurst tells me that he has in hand four further contributions from Bro. Hextall which will be published in our *Ars* in due course.

But these activities, which I have just recounted, did not exhaust the whole of our late Brother's energies. He had done a certain amount of literary work for the Lodge of Research at Leicester, of which he was an honorary member, and for that useful little publication *Miscellanea Latomorum* (now edited by our Bro. Vibert), both over his own initials and at least one *nom de plume*.

Although in this particular Lodge we may not regard Grand Lodge honours as of necessity the highest distinction to which a Brother can attain, we, nevertheless, rejoice when the Grand Master recognises the worth of any of our members. Bro. Hextall was singled out in this connection at the great

Peace Celebration in the Albert Hall in 1919, when he was appointed to the rank of a Past Senior Grand Deacon, and I know that he greatly appreciated the honour.

Bro. Hextall first saw the light of day on the 6th October, 1847, the light of Freemasonry in 1873, and the greatest light of all on the 5th May, 1923. His last appearance amongst us was at our March meeting, so that he had completed over seventy-five years of useful life and nearly fifty years of Masonic work. His mortal remains were laid to rest at Ashby-de-la-Zouch on the 10th May, 1923, where we hope they may peacefully repose till it shall please the G.A.O.T.U. to summon the General Resurrection.

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## HERBERT BRADLEY

(1856—1923).

It is particularly sad that I should have to record the loss of still another of our old friends and Past Masters in the person of the Rt. Wor. Bro. Herbert Bradley, C.S.I., Past Dist.G.M. of Madras.

Most of us remember the depressing circumstances under which Bro. Bradley's Installation, in this Lodge, took place on the 22nd November, 1920, and how his Inaugural Address and the toast of his health were deferred until January, 1921, but we had all hoped that the surgical operation, which then spared him to us, had quite re-established his good health. Unfortunately, our hopes have been illusory, for a sudden recurrence of the trouble rapidly brought about the end.

He had written to Bro. Songhurst the day before his death expressing the fear that he might not be able to join us at Bath on our Summer Outing.

The printed sketch of Bro. Bradley's career has only been issued within the last few months, so that it is not now necessary for me to repeat what has already been so ably written by Bro. Tuckett. Since his Installation, Bro. Bradley has favoured us with a paper, "A Madras Precursor of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge," and has frequently taken part in our discussions. He was not an eloquent speaker, but his matter was always useful and sometimes valuable. You will all remember how, at our last meeting, in commenting on Bro. Williams's paper, "The Nomenclature of Lodges," he pointed out that the history of the times could be clearly traced through Lodge names. He was the embodiment of dignity which led some people to think he lacked geniality, but those in close touch with him knew the fallacy of such an idea.

Bro. Bradley had been selected as one of the membrs of the deputation from Grand Lodge to accompany the Pro Grand Master (whom, by the way, he had succeeded as Dist.G.M. of Madras) to Canada and Newfoundland next month: a position for which he was eminently fitted.

Bro. Bradley, like his lately deceased fellow P.M., Bro. Hextall, was a regular attender at our meetings. Their vacant places will be hard to fill; but we must not despair. "The builder dies, but the work goes on," and successors to these worthy craftsmen will undoubtedly be found.

The date of Bro. Herbert Bradley's entry into rest was Sunday, 3rd June, 1923.

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One Lodge and forty-six Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE.

"The Oxfordshire Contest: or the whole Controversy between The *Old* and *New Interest*. Containing Great Variety of Wit, Humour, and Argument; Letters, Songs, &c." London and Oxford, 1753.

The papers printed in this Tract relate to the Contest in Oxfordshire preceding the General Election for Parliament in 1752, when Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood stood as Candidates. At page 56 is "A Song. To the tune of, *Come let us prepare*," in eight verses. The first and the last of these are as follows:—

Let's drink to those Knights
That stand by our Rights,
And Placemen, and pensioners quash wou'd;
They're such Men as these
Our Taxes must ease,
Then here's to a *Wenman* and *Dashwood*.

. . . . .

Then join Hand in Hand,
And stiffly let's stand,
Nor mind those that cut a fine Flash wou'd:
Be Freeholders true
To honest TRUE BLUE,
And Huzza for a *Wenman* and *Dashwood*.

By Bro. C. H. HUCKLE, of St. Helena.

Silver JEWEL in the form of a Dagger, about 5 inches long, made by Thomas Harper, with date-mark of 1818. The Guard has engraved upon it a Square, Level, Plumb-rule and Compasses, and on the blade is inscribed "The Gift of B^r^. Partington. A.D. 1819." The Jewel belongs to a lady living in St. Helena (Mrs. Vinhall *née* Bruce), whose father stated that he had it many years ago from a Lodge in Ireland. It may be noted that the Minden Lodge, No. 63 of Ireland, was attached to the XX. Regiment of Foot, which from 1819 to 1821 took immediate charge and duties over Napoleon.

By Bro. W. WONNACOTT.

TWO COUNTRY STEWARDS' MEDALS from the Museum of Grand Lodge, and one from the Worcester Collection.

APRONS believed to have been worn by William White as Grand Steward, Country Steward, and K.T., now in the possession of Bro. T. Killingworth White.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

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Bro. W. WONNACOTT read the following paper, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to him on the proposition of Bro. R. H. Baxter, seconded by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins; comments being offered by Bros. G. P. G. Hills, A. Gilchrist, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, J. E. S. Tuckett, and H. Lovegrove:—

# THE COUNTRY STEWARDS' LODGE AND THE GREEN APRON.

*BY BRO. W. WONNACOTT, P.M.*

THE subject of my paper this evening deals with a custom of long standing adopted by the Grand Lodge, of having an annual feast in the summer-time at some popular resort outside London. This custom appears to have arisen at an early date and extended over a long period, and in view of the coming variation in our present day practice, of taking in each year one of the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge into the Provinces, the present account of the former custom has been prepared at the request of our Lodge Committee. But there is a difference in the practice between then and now that ought to be pointed out. Formerly, the Grand Lodge confined its country outing to refreshment, while now, if the Grand Master should so determine, the business meeting of the Grand Lodge in September is to be moved to a country town, labour to be combined with refreshment, and the provincial brethren who are qualified allowed to partake in the deliberations of our legislative body when away from its metropolitan home. The result of this experiment will be watched with great interest.

Having adopted at a remote period the custom of migrating to some country resort, the annual outing of the Grand Lodge came to be known as "The Country Feast," and in a later phase Stewards were annually appointed for the purpose of organising the business of entertaining the Grand Lodge, who were known as "Country Stewards." Later still these Country Stewards formed themselves into a Lodge called "The Country Stewards' Lodge," somewhat on the lines of the Grand Stewards, with a distinctive dress of their own, and the peculiar privilege of wearing a distinctive medal.

The records available for the purpose of the present paper are exceedingly meagre, and, although careful search has been made, there are only a few scraps of information obtainable that can be deemed of weight or importance in relating the story of the Country Stewards' Lodge.

The Country Feast was sometimes termed in the official records "The Deputy Grand Master's Feast." This distinctive title probably was adopted with the purpose of distinguishing the Country Feast from the Grand Feast, which in the early years of the Craft was given at the sole expense of the Grand Master for the time being, before the introduction of the system of payment by ticket, which system came into use with the organization of the Grand Stewards. Even after its adoption the Grand Master continued to be put to a large expense in inviting the brethren who proposed to attend the Grand Feast to breakfast with him at his house on the morning of the Festival, and to proceed to one of the City Companies' Halls in procession, clothed in the badges of the Order, and attended by music. Thus we read of the processions of 1736 to 1739 inclusive, each of which was preceded by a breakfast at the house of the Grand Master Elect; that given by Lord Darnley "cost his lordship £200." [1] In like manner, when the Country Feast was held, it is more than probable that the newly-appointed Deputy Grand Master was expected to subscribe to the expense of the entertainment.

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14—21 July, 1737.

A newspaper extract of 1737 gives an account of the country outing of that year in these words:—

> On Saturday last the Right Hon. the Earl of Darnley, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Masons, attended by the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges in and about London, together with about 150 Brethren, went to Mr. Vipont's at Hampstead, and had a very grand Entertainment provided for them.[1]

It should be noted that this visit to Hampstead was an organized visit of the Grand Lodge, the representatives of the Lodges attending by virtue of their office, and that the Grand Master attended the function in state. Brother Hughan remarks in a note he appended to the catalogue of the Worcestershire Masonic Library and Museum (p. 83):—"It is just possible that the Country Feast and the Stewards for those annual celebrations were originated almost as early as those in connection with the festivals of the Grand Lodge." Brother Henry Sadler expressed his opinion in *The Freemason*, March 14th, 1885 (p. 135), and wrote:—"I should imagine it was one of the old customs of the Order, and from the wording of the Deputy Grand Master's announcement in 1772 was certainly held before that year." It was not until 1789 that a Lodge was formed on the lines of the Grand Stewards' Lodge. Brother Shackles has ventured the opinion that on its formation it may have been worked as a Masters' Lodge in the same manner as the Grand Stewards' Lodge, "and was probably so worked."[2] This opinion of Brother Shackles would appear to be confirmed, so far as the majority of the membership is concerned, by an inspection of the entries in the Grand Lodge Register, but there are also included in that volume a few names of members who are entered as "made" in the Lodge, as in the cases of John Jones, Thomas Schabner and John Lewington, made respectively in the years 1790, 1791 and 1792.[3]

While dealing with this Register it should be pointed out that there are fifteen names mentioned in the official narrative presently to be quoted which do not appear in the list of members returned to the Grand Lodge, one of them being the Master of the Lodge in November, 1796. The latest date mentioned in the returns from the Lodge is the 5th July, 1793, and thus the fact emerges that a large number of members were not returned for registration, probably as numerous as those that have been recorded, in the six years following 1793 during which the Lodge continued to be represented at the Quarterly Communications of the Grand Lodge.

The earliest notices of an official nature are the following extracts from the Grand Lodge Minutes.

In the year 1743 it is clear that the Grand Master gave a Country Feast to the Brethren. In April of that year Lord Ward was requested to continue in office as Grand Master, owing to certain difficulties, "to a more convenient opportunity," and accordingly the Election and the Grand Feasts were postponed, his lordship agreeing to remain in the chair. The record goes on to say:—

> The G.M. then proposed (as no Feast was to be in Town) that such Brethren as it suited would dine with him at Bro: Viponts at Hampstead on Monday the 16th: of May next When several Brethren subscribed at 3$^{s}$. a head, & it was recommended to the others to take Tickets in time that a suitable Provision might be made.

And in 1749 the Minutes of Grand Lodge state:—

> The D.G.M. [Fotherly Baker as G.M.] informed the Lodge that himself & several Brethren intended to Dine at Bro. Vipont's at

[1] The source of this extract has not yet been ascertained. "Bro. Vipont's" at Hampstead was the Long Room, a well known place of resort for the fashionable world.

[2] *The Medals of British Freemasonry*, one of our Lodge publications.

[3] A later search in the register shows that Lewington was made in another Lodge, and the entry of these three names here as being "made" must be erroneous.

> Hampstead on Saturday the 17th June next & desired the Company of such as it suited to dine with him.

Similarly, on the 25th of June, 1750, it is recorded:—

> The D:G:M: informed the Brethren that he intended to dine at Bro: Perry's the Bowling Green House at Putney on Saturday the 14th July next & hoped that such Brethren as it suited would attend him there.

In 1752, on 18th June, when Dr. Thomas Manningham presided in Grand Lodge:—

> The D:G:M: informed the Brethren that he should Dine at Putney Bowling House on next St. John's Day & desired the Company of such of them as it suited.

In 1759 the Country Feast is referred to in the Minutes of the Mourning Bush Lodge (now No. 21) where it is recorded:—

> June 22. The Tyler has taken the three Jewels two red aprons and six plain ones for the Country Feast on Monday next, for which he is to be answerable.

At this time the Mourning Bush Lodge did not have its own private outings, which commenced in 1764; the Country Feast here referred to is the annual outing of the Society.

*The Gazetteer, and New Daily Advertiser*, No. 12,268, June 28, 1768:—

> Friday last, being the festival of St. John the Baptist, the Antient and Honourable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, held their annual country feast at Turnham-green, which was honoured with the presence of the greatest number of Masons ever known on the like occasion, among whom were several persons of distinction. The whole was conducted under the direction of the Deputy Grand Master, with that regularity and decorum which will ever establish the honour, reputation and dignity of this Society, while patronized by a person of such distinguished rank and ability.

A newspaper paragraph of Monday, 8th May, 1769, records the Grand Lodge Feast at Merchant Taylor's Hall, "when after the usual election of grand "officers, it was declared that the annual summer feast would be held at Brother "Brunn's, the Mermaid tavern and bowling green Hackney, on Saturday the "24th June next." (*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser.*)

The same journal contained an advertisement of this country outing, the date being changed to June 23rd:—

FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

> The Annual Country Feast of this Society will be held at Brother Anthony Brun's, the Mermaid Tavern at Hackney, This Day the 23d. of June. Tickets to be had of Brother Hasiltine, Grand Secretary, at Doctors Commons; and at the Mermaid Tavern in Hackney.
>
> N.B. Dinner to be on table at three o'clock precisely; and those brethren, who will honour this Society with their Company, are desired to come cloathed.

At the end of the transactions at the Grand Feast on the 4th of May, 1772, it is recorded:—

> "The D:G:M: acquainted the Brethren that the Country Feast was to be held at the Long room at Hampstead on the 25th day of June next."

We may note that it is curious this announcement, as on previous occasions, was made by the Deputy Grand Master in the presence of the Grand Master; probably the latter was invited to attend as the guest of the Country Stewards.

On June the 20th of the same year (1772) appeared an advertisement of the coming feast, from which we learn that Simmonds was now the host of the Long Room in place of Vipont.

*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, No. 13,513, June 20, 1772:—

FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

> The Annual Country Feast of this Society will be held at Brother Simmond's Long Room Hampstead, on Thursday next June 25. Tickets to be had of Brother Cole, Engraver to the Society, Newgate-Street, and at the following places; viz. Mitre Tavern, Fleet-Street; Star and Garter, Bond-Street; Thatch'd house, St. James's-Street; Crown and Magpye, White-chapel; and at Brother Simmonds's.
>
> ☛ As several of the Nobility are expected to attend the Feast, it is desired the Brethren will provide themselves with Tickets by Tuesday next the 23d instant, that the entertainment may be more elegant.

This meeting of the Country Stewards in 1772 proved to be an exciting one, and an interesting sidelight has been thrown on the personality of one of the Grand Stewards who hitherto has proved an elusive character. In the search many years ago for some details of the career of General Charles Rainsford I found he served in 1769 as President of the Board of Grand Stewards (he was then Colonel), while the name of the Treasurer of the Board of Stewards of 1769 had been suppressed in all lists of the Grand Stewards that had been printed. I am now able to supply the missing name, having found in the Minutes of the Committee of Charity for 1772 a reference to the gross misbehaviour of this Grand Steward, to his hasty exclusion from the company assembled at the Country Feast at Hampstead, and ultimate expulsion from the Craft. The narrative will supply all necessary particulars:—

[Minutes of the Committee of Charity.]

> 1772. 28th October. . . . Brother Sir Peter Parker acquainted the Comittee that Charles Van Teylingen a Member of this Society and one of the Past Grand Stewards, stood charged with having made attempts of a most abominable nature for one of which attempts he had been expelled the Royal Lodge of which he was a Member, and having never taken any steps to acquit himself of such Charge, and his character being notoriously infamous, he was, at the last Country Feast[1] of this Society, held at the Long Room at Hampstead, charged publicly with having made attempts of the most detestable nature, and was also at that time kicked out of [the] Company with the utmost contempt, and not having since that treatment by any means attempted to exculpate himself from such charge, he ought not to be suffered longer to remain a Member of this Society. And therefore Sir Peter moved, That Mr. Vanteylingen for not having endeavoured to acquit himself to the Brethren, of some black aspersions thrown on his character for some time past, be expelled this Society, and that notice hereof be sent by the Grand Secretary to all Lodges under this Constitution, and also that an account of his Expulsion be published in all the News Papers. This motion was duly seconded, and on putting the Question it passed unanimously in the affirmative.

This is the explanation of the hiatus in all the printed lists and Freemasons' Calendars down to the Union. The fact of his expulsion was duly announced in the newspapers and communicated to the Lodges. The only reference yet discovered was that in No. 564 of the *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening*

[1] On the 25th June of this year.

*Post*, November 7-10, 1772, which very briefly announced: "On Wednesday "evening last Governor Van T——— was expelled the Society of Free Masons." Van Teylingen, whose Christian name is given in the extract above as Charles, is twice mentioned in the Minutes of Grand Lodge as Christian. At the Grand Feast held on the 2nd May, 1768, John Richardson [G. Steward] presented "Christ. Van Tillingher," and at the Feast held on the 5th of May, 1769 "Christⁿ. van Teylingen Esqʳ." presented ——— Eden Esqʳ.

In the register of the British Lodge, now No. 8, I find a Theodorus Van Teylingen, made in that Lodge on August 25th, 1778, who may have been a relative.

Returning to the country outings, we find the example of the older Grand Lodge was copied by the Antients on numerous occasions, from 1768,[1] when they went in procession to Deptford Church "and afterwards to dine together," down to 1813, but these occasions were their annual Grand Feast, occasionally termed the "Grand Master's Feast," with stewards appointed in Grand Lodge on each such occasion, but not organized as a body to serve at a function supplementary to and apart from their Grand Feast. It may be considered worthy of quoting one description of such a Grand Feast of the Antients, the one in 1812. Here is the picture as drawn in *The Star*.

*The Star*, Saturday, June 27, 1812. No. 7897:—

> St. Johns Day. On Wednesday last the Festival of St. John the Baptist was celebrated, according to usual form, by the Honourable and Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. The Society went in magnificent procession from White Conduit House to St. Mary's Church, Islington, to the number of about Fifteen Hundred where a sermon was preached by their Grand Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Barry, Rector of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's, Wallingford, from the 97th Psalm, 2d verse: "*Clouds and darkness are round about "Him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his seat.*" We have before had occasion to mention the very suitable allusions of the worthy Chaplain on similar occasions; but on the present, independently of an admirable introduction of the advantages of Free Masonry, much appropriate matter was seasonably interspersed, which produced a very solemn effect on the immense congregation that was present. The Galleries, which were adorned with the Banners of the different Lodges present, were expressly appropriated for the Fair Sex, amongst whom we were gratified at seeing so large a proportion of very elegant and beauteous females. After the service the whole procession went to Cannonbury House, where a large and respectable company sat down to an excellent dinner. The Gardens were thronged with parties of Ladies and Gentlemen, who were happy witnesses to the conviviality and harmony which prevailed throughout the day. Numerous other parties of the Fraternity dined at other houses in the neighbourhood.[2]

Sundry private Lodges indulged in the same pleasant custom of adjourning in the summer to refresh at some well-known resort near the town; the Jerusalem Lodge had a Summer Feast from 1788; the St. Alban's Lodge (a Red Apron Lodge) for over a century held its "Annual Summer Banquet," while others, too numerous to mention, did the same.[3] It will be sufficient to state that among the private Lodges an annual outing in the country was a firmly established custom.

Another advertisement of the Country Feast appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, June the 21st—23rd, 1773:—

[1] An advertisement appeared in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for June 21st, 1768, and a year later in the *Public Advertiser*, 29th May, 1769.

[2] A copy of this newspaper is in G.L. Library.

[3] The Annual Feast of the Grand Chapter of Harodim, at Grove House, Camberwell, is mentioned in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of August, 1793 (p. 256).

> The Annual County [Country] Feast of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons will be held to-morrow, 24th inst., at Brother Smith's Tea Gardens, Vauxhall.[1]

No further record is obtainable until 1776, when Grand Lodge paid the following item, duly noted in the Account Book of the Grand Treasurer, now in the Library of the Grand Lodge:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1776 | | |
| Nov[r]. 6. | To Exp[s]. at Country ffeasts advertizeing &c[a] for Three years ... ... ... | £ s. d. 8.14.— |

This would be for the years 1774, 1775 and 1776, without a clue as to the locality selected for the midsummer outing. During the next eight years no mention of the Country Feast is to be found among the Grand Lodge records, until the issue in 1785 of the *Freemasons' Calendar* (a forerunner of our "Masonic Year Book"), which contained this announcement:—

> The Annual Country Feast will be held this year on Tuesday, the 5th July. Stewards: Bros. Harris, Clarke, Nield, and Barker[2]; of whom tickets may be had.

Again no locality is mentioned, but the change of date is worthy of notice. The Vauxhall outing of 1773 was on the 24th of June, while in the previous year it was on the 25th of June. It is now on the 5th July, Old Midsummer Day, the change being made possibly to avoid clashing with the day of St. John the Baptist, on which numerous private Lodges held their summer function. The earlier date was again selected in 1784, the Almanac in the "Calendar" having the entry "St. John the Baptist, Country Feast." A new fashion was adopted from 1785 onwards, to 1797 inclusive; the celebration was moved to Old Midsummer Day and the Almanacs in the years last mentioned show the entry (5th July): "COUNTRY FEAST, S. John. O.S." In 1798 the entry entirely disappears, although in that year there is a record of the Country Feast having been held at Canonbury House, after the lost privilege of the green ribbon and medal had been finally restored to the Country Stewards, as will be related presently.

We now turn to the information afforded by the Minutes of the Grand Lodge. The brethren who had already served the office of Country Steward petitioned the Grand Master and obtained a warrant, No. 540, for a Lodge which they named the Country Stewards' Lodge, the warrant being dated the 25th of November, 1789. The Grand Lodge Minutes of that day record that the privilege of a special jewel attached to a green collar for the Past Stewards was granted in the Quarterly Communication:—

> "On a Motion made by Brother Whalley Master of the Lodge of Antiquity and duly Seconded it was Resolved—That in consequence of the trouble attending the Office of Steward for the Country Feast of the Society, the Brethren who have served that Office be permitted to wear a suitable Jewel pendant to a Green Collar."

The suitable jewel referred to is the fairly well-known Country Stewards' Medal, specimens of which are exhibited this evening.

From our own Lodge work, "The Medals . . . of British Freemasonry," edited by Bro. G. L. Shackles, P.M. of our Lodge (Hamburg, 1901), I extract this detailed description of the medal:—

[No. 4.] Obv.—A clothed and winged female figure standing facing with a staff in her left hand, and right extended, wearing a collar or ribbon, to which is suspended the same medal in miniature; in the foreground

[1] A similar, but rather fuller, advertisement appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, No. 13262, June 24th, 1773. "Dinner on Table at Two o'Clock."

[2] Clarke was Stephen Clarke, joined the Lodge 1790; see List of Members, *post*.

at the left a cornucopia and at the right a pitcher; in the distance on the right are rocks, a waterfall, and a row of trees.

Rev.:—Legend in eight lines, the first conforming to the edge of the Medal: GRANTED BY GRAND LODGE | IN | QUARTY. COMMUN. | 25 Nov. 1789 | TO THE MEMBERS | OF THE | COUNTRY STEWARDS | LODGE. | The bottom is left blank for engraving the name of the owner.

A note adds that the medal is very rare. Specimens are to be found in the Shackles, Rostock, Grand Lodge (two), the Worcester and the Leicester Provincial Museums, and some private collections. The Worcester example is a particularly choice one, as it is cased in crystal with a double row of paste brilliants on each face of the medal, one side white and the other green, similar to the specimen from the Grand Lodge Museum, which has one row of paste gems on each side. The Worcester one was acquired in 1885 by Brother George Taylor, and from a description he gave of it to the Masonic Press [1] it proves to have been originally the property of Samuel Clanfield (1790).

The Brethren named in the Warrant of Constitution were:—

Richard Walker Whalley, as Master.
James Bliss, Senior Warden.
James Benwell, Junior Warden.
Richard Emblin
Peregrine Palmer
John Heming
Benjamin Pownall
& Joseph Moore.

Of the three principal officers the following details of their careers may prove of interest:—

Whalley, first Master, is registered as a Button Maker of the Strand, aged 44; made in the Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 55 on November 20th, 1786 [2]; as already mentioned, he was a member of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, which he joined in January, 1787, being Master in 1789, when he was described as a Hardwareman of the Strand. He was Master of the old Union Lodge in 1791, 93, 94, 96, 98 and 99. In Knight Templary he was a prominent figure, and as Grand Chancellor of the Order signed the Warrant given in March, 1791, to the Observance Chapter of Encampment, and also that in October, 1795, to the Cross of Christ Encampment (now St. George's Preceptory).

In the *Freemasons' Magazine* for December, 1795 (p. 428), there is an announcement under "Masonic Intelligence" that Mr. Richard Walker Whalley, No. 5 Fountain Court, Strand, is elected to the office of Collector to the Royal Cumberland Freemasons' School.

James Bliss [Senior], first Senior Warden, was an Attorney of Tooley Street, Southwark, a member and Grand Steward in 1792 of the Old King's Arms Lodge, now No. 28. He was a founding member of No. 526, Bank of England Lodge, now 263, which met at the Guildhall Coffee Tavern, where the Country Stewards' Lodge had its first home; he was named in the Warrant of No. 526 as first Senior Warden.

James Benwell, first Junior Warden, is described as a Sadler, aged 30, of Bartholomew Lane. He was made in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12 (now 21) on the 5th of October, 1787, and was R.W.M. of that Lodge in the latter part of 1790.

[1] *The Freemason*, Feb. 28, 1885, p. 111.
[2] The Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 55A was absorbed by the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 in 1789; and the Warrant was re-issued to Arundel, now No. 56.

Of the other founders, I need only mention Benjamin Pownall, a Victualler, of the Guildhall Tavern and Coffee House, where the Lodge first met. The others will be dealt with at the end of my paper.

From the date of the foundation of the Lodge, for a space of five years, there appears to be a dearth of information about this Lodge. It is next mentioned in 1794 in two items, the first being in the cash accounts of Lodge No. 71, the Lodge of Sincerity, where this entry occurs [1]:—

1794. 15th July. Two Tickets for R.W.M. and P.M. to dine with the Country Stewards. 15s/-

And the other selection is from the Summary of events in the early history of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls, where we learn that the sum of £23.12.6 was collected at the Deputy Grand Master's feast at Canonbury House.[2] This was a resort familiar to London Masons. Only a fragment of the extensive manor house remained at this period. The lodging-house formed one corner of the site and dated from shortly after the Reformation. Here died in 1737 Samuel Humphreys, the poet, and also Cyclopedia Chambers in 1740.

In the year 1795 the Country Stewards' Lodge presented a memorial to the Grand Lodge requesting the distinctive privilege of a green apron in addition to the green collar and medal already granted. This request I must distinguish as Memorial No. 1, as the Lodge had cause later on to trouble Grand Lodge several times on the matter of its privileges. The details of this first memorial are set out at length in the following extract from the Minutes of Grand Lodge:—

[25th November, 1795.] A Memorial was presented from the Master Wardens and the rest of the Officers and Brethren of the Country Stewards' Lodge No. 449, setting forth "That they were induced to form "themselves into a Lodge the better to regulate and manage the "Deputy Grand Masters or Annual Country Feast of this Society "and for that purpose obtained a Constitution, since which time the "Country Stewards have been regularly ballotted for and approved "in that Lodge, and the Country Feasts as well by those means as "thro' the indefatigable exertions of the Stewards have been "numerously and respectably attended.

"That owing to the unremitted attention of the Stewards and "the propriety with which they conducted the Country Feasts, the "Grand Lodge was pleased to permit them to suspend a Jewel by a "Green Ribbon as a Mark of their having served the Office of "Country Steward, But which they humbly conceive does not "sufficiently distinguish them particularly as most of them are "Officers in other Lodges whereby they are prevented from Wearing "the Green Collar at the time they have on the Jewel of the Lodge.

"That they humbly conceive it would make their Dress more "consistent and uniform were they to be permitted to wear the same "Coloured Ribbon to their Aprons and that it would be the means "of creating an Emulation among the Brethren at large, which would "ultimately tend to the benefit of the Society.

"They therefore prayed that the Grand Lodge will in future "permit them and the succeeding Members of the Country Stewards "Lodge to line their Aprons with Green Silk as a more certain and "distinguishing mark of their having had the honour of serving that "Office."

The said Memorial having been read, after Debate thereon a Motion was made and seconded, That the Prayer of the said Memorial be complied with and on the Question being put it passed in the Affirmative.

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. 28, p. 8.
[2] *F.Q.R.*, 1837; p. 49.

Thus the Lodge scored its second point. It had already enlisted the support of other influential Lodges to obtain the coveted privilege, and when a counter attack was launched at the following Quarterly Communication similar tactics were employed in its defence. The records of the Jerusalem Lodge inform us that early in 1796 that Lodge resolved to support the Country Stewards' Lodge in its application for permission to wear a green apron.

At this point it becomes necessary to digress from the narrative and recall what had been done previously by Grand Lodge in the matter of clothing. There was a precedent for green as a colour for aprons. The Lodge of Antiquity, long before it adopted its time-honoured name, had made it a practice to wear green. The Minutes of No. 1 inform us that it was an ancient custom so early as 1739, as this extract will show:—

> At the Queen's Arms in St. Paul's Church Yard 2nd Jan^y. 1738 [*i.e.*, 1739, A.D.]
>
> . . . Agreed this Evening Nem Con that the present and all succeeding Masters and Wardens shall Wear Aprons lined with Green and the Jewells pendant with a Green Ribband to Each and that the same be provided at Each their Expence for the time being it being the Ancient Custom of this Lodge.[1]

And on the 2nd of May following this resolution was upset by the ruling of the Grand Lodge at its meeting in April, for we are further informed:—

> It was this Evening Agreed that for the future the White Ribband be worn in this Lodge in the stead of the Green conformable to the Order of the Grand Master.[2]

The Order referred to was the third occasion in less than ten years when the ruling body of the Craft had taken notice of the frequent irregularities in the matter of clothing, not that the green apron of Lodge No. 1 was irregular, but the Lodge of Antiquity loyally decided in May to comply with the law and waive its ancient privilege, emphasized in its January resolution. The occasions on which Grand Lodge intervened are given in these three Minutes, marked A., B. and C.:—

A. 1731, 17th March. Dr. Desagulier Taking Notice of some Irregularites in wearing the Marks of Distinction which have been allowed by former Grand Lodges, Proposed, [the Grand and past Grand Officers to wear blue, the Stewards and past Stewards red] That all Masters and Wardens of Lodges may wear their Aprons lined with White Silk and their respective Jewels with plain White Ribbons but of no other Colour whatsoever.[3]

B. 1735, 17th April. The Grand Master took Notice of several Brethren in the Hall who had their Jewels pendant on blue Ribbon (not having been Grand Officers) contrary to an express Order of the Grand Lodge; Blue Ribbon belonging to Grand Officers only, And therefore Ordered That the Secretary do send a Copy of the said Order to all the regular Lodges, to prevent any such Irregularity for the future.

C. 1739, 13th April. The Laws relating to the proper Cloathing of the Brethren were read and directed to be strictly observed.

This regulation ordaining white silk only for the officers of private Lodges was repeatedly printed on the business papers of the Grand Lodge down to 1769—and is also to be found in the Books of Constitutions in force before the Union of 1813.

[1] Rylands' *Records of the Lodge of Antiquity*, p. 74.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 82.
[3] The white ribbon was considered as referring to the badge of innocence; see Rules of the Norwich Lodge quoted *post*.

In the first Minute Book of the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, originally No. 30 on the roll, and constituted only seven years later than the formation of our Grand Lodge, we find recorded under the date 1743:—

> And for y$^{e}$ better preserving y$^{e}$ Peace and Harmony of this Lodge the follow$^{g}$ Rules recommended by our Worthy Broth$^{r}$. D$^{r}$. Desaguliers are enter'd as a testimony of the approbation of the Members thereof:—
>
> Article 1. No Member shall wear y$^{e}$ Jewells in any place untiled.
>
> 2. The Jewells to be worn with white Ribbands to represent y$^{e}$ Badge of a Mason.
>
> 3. No Brother to wear an Apron lined with other colour'd silk but white.
>
> 4. If any Broth$^{r}$. is Honour'd with y$^{e}$ office of Steward he may have his Apron lined with red silk and to be worn'd only during his being in that office.
>
> 5. If any memb$^{r}$ be chose a grand Officer he shall wear an Apron lined with Blew.

The Minutes of this Lodge are of great interest,[1] and I must avoid the temptation of further reference to them, other than to point out that the Lodge was constituted by Martin Folkes, the Deputy Grand Master, in 1724 (his letter of thanks to the brethren on that occasion is preserved in the Library of Grand Lodge), that it was one of the Lodges which had its jewels gilt, and that another of the rules which followed those above quoted provided "that no ridiculous "trick be play'd with any person when he is admitted."

There are two further references in the Minutes of the Maid's Head Lodge to be quoted:—

> 1755. Ord$^{r}$. that there be new Aprons for y$^{e}$ Master Wardens & lyn'd w$^{t}$. white & white Ribbons for y$^{e}$ Jewels, & the other aprons to be clean'd or changed.
>
> 1773. [In order to attend the Provincial Grand Lodge it was ordered] five new Aprons for the Master and officers, lined with white silk . . .

To revert to our narrative. The privilege of the green apron which had been granted in response to Memorial No. 1 was non-confirmed at the succeeding Quarterly Communication of the 10th of February, 1796:—

> The Minutes of the last Grand Lodge were read and after debate a Motion was made and duly seconded That the Minutes be Confirmed except what relates to allowing the Stewards of the Country Feast to line their Aprons with Green Silk, and on the Question being put and the Numbers counted by the Senior Grand Warden there appeared
>
> for the Motion 53
> Against it 48.

Having both won and lost the coveted distinction, the Lodge carried on, and the Country Feast of 1796 appears to be the first one to be recorded in detail by the Masonic Press of the day. In the *Free Masons' Magazine* dated the 5th of July, 1796, we have an account of the function next given, of which it is worthy of notice that it is once more described as a meeting of the Grand Lodge, as already noted under the year 1737:—

> [5th July]
> This day the Grand Lodge met at Brother Sutton's, Canonbury House, Islington, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Deputy Grand

[1] *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk*, 1724-1895, by Hamon Le Strange, Norwich. 1896.

> Master's Feast, on which occasion there appeared a very numerous and respectable assemblage of brethren, among whom were Brothers Atkinson, Marsh, Tutt, Galloway, Tyler and Tegart, Past Grand Wardens; Brother White, Grand Secretary; and Bro. Chev. Ruspini, Grand Sword Bearer. Brother Atkinson, as the Senior Past Grand Warden present, represented the Grand Master; Brothers Tutt and Galloway, the Grand Wardens; and Brother Marsh the Past Grand Master. An excellent dinner was provided by Brother Sutton, under the inspection of the Stewards, whose attention to the Grand Officers and Brethren most deservedly merited the thanks they received from the Grand Master in the chair. After dinner, the Grand Lodge was, as usual, opened in due form; and the afternoon was passed in social and brotherly mirth, and rational and orderly conviviality; nor was Charity, that adamantine pillar of Masonry, forgotten on this occasion; the wants of that infant Charity, the Cumberland School, were ably depicted by the Master of the Country Stewards' Lodge, and several new annual subscribers made.

I feel sure that music had its part in these festivities; it certainly did at the Annual Grand Feast. The Board of Grand Stewards usually arranged for:

> Four clarinets
> one great drum
> two horns
> one Cymbal
> one Trumpet
> two bassoons
> and one serpent, at one Guine each including everything to come at ½ past 3 & stop 'til dismissed by the Board. This orchestra varied from year to year, perhaps two flutes & two clarinets played instead of four clarinets.

The next Quarterly Communication after the Country Feast just described saw the presentation of Memorial No. 2 on the 23rd of November, 1796, when the distinction of the green apron was restored to the Lodge, after an amendment to postpone consideration of their request had been lost. In the Minute recording the result of the voting we again are told that the counting of hands was done by the Senior Grand Warden:—

> [Grand Lodge Minutes.]
>
> A Memorial was presented by the Country Stewards Lodge No. 449, and read as follows:—
>
> > The Memorial of the Master Wardens and the rest of the Officers and Brethren of the Country Stewards Lodge No. 449,
>
> Sheweth
>
> That your Memorialists did at the Quarterly Communication in November last present a Memorial to the Grand Lodge wherein it was stated "That in the year 1789 were induced to form themselves into a Lodge" [&c. as previously quoted], Which Memorial with the allegations advanced in support of the same was duly considered and the prayer thereof granted by a considerable Majority of one of the most numerously attended Communications ever Witnessed, but which was rejected at the subsequent Communication when the Minute of the Grand Lodge stood for Confirmation by a Majority of 5 or 6 only.
>
> That your Memorialists have too much reason to fear their Memorial was not understood by their Brethren who composed the Communication at which the Minute was rescinded and they have good grounds for apprehension that by some accident the

*real* sentiments of the Grand Lodge were not obtained at that Comunication which can alone consistently account for the rejection of that, which the former Grand Lodge had with such marked and decided Majority granted.

Your Memorialists are induced by these Considerations once more to trouble the Grand Lodge with the application, and if the same shall appear to have been rejected by mistake or from Motives incompatible with the pure and genuine Principle of Masonry which deals or should deal even justice to all, they will influenced by such principles grant that the present and succeeding Members of the Country Stewards Lodge be permitted to line their Aprons with Green Silk.

It was then moved by Brother Wingfield Master of the Country Stewards Lodge and seconded by Brother Jones Senior Warden of the same "That the Prayer of the said Memorial be "complied with." Whereupon an Amendment was Moved by Brother George Downing Esq^r^. Prov^l^. Grand Master for Essex Seconded by R. Brettingham Esquire Junior Grand Warden to omit all the Words of the said Motion after the word "That" and substitute the Words "the consideration of the Prayer of "the said Memorial be postponed until His Royal Highness the "Prince of Wales Grand Master, The Right Hon^ble^. the Earl of "Moira Acting Grand Master or Sir Peter Parker Baronet "Deputy Grand Master shall preside in the Chair of the Grand "Lodge." [1] And on the Question being put on the Amendment, and the Numbers counted, the Senior Grand Warden reported there were

| | |
|---|---|
| Against it | 76 |
| For it | 64 |
| Majority ag^st^. the Amendment | 12 |

The Question on the Original Motion was then put, and the Numbers being counted the Senior Grand Warden reported the same—

| | |
|---|---|
| For it | 73 |
| Ag^t^. | 53 |
| Majority for the Motion | 20 |

Some restless spirits among the Grand Officers were not content with the decision thus recorded, perhaps for some good reason or possibly jealous of the mark of distinction thus again granted by the Grand Lodge. Although his amendment was out-voted, the Junior Grand Warden, Robert Brettingham, a distinguished architect of his day, manœuvred the non-confirmation of the Minute granting the green apron, with the result that tumult arose and no decision arrived at, as in a similar case when the Duke of Wharton intervened in Grand Lodge:—

[Grand Lodge Minutes 8 Feb., 1797.]

The Minutes of the last Grand Lodge being read a Motion was made by Brother Millett and seconded by Bro^r^. R. Brettingham Esq^r^. Jun^r^. Grand Warden That the Minutes of the last Grand Lodge be Confirmed except that part respecting the Memorial of the Country Stewards Lodge and the granting a Green Apron to be worn by the past and future Stewards of the Country Feast.

Upon which Debates arose, but it being found difficult to ascertain the Sense of the Grand Lodge by the holding up of Hands, a Division

[1] At this communication George Porter, Esq., S.G.W., presided as G.M.; and Robert Brettingham, Esq., J.G.W., as D.G.M.

was proposed, but from the Confusion tumult and irregularity which took place thereon, The Grand Master in the Chair [1] found himself under the necessity, at a very late Hour (at the general request of the Grand Officers and many other Brethren) of Closing the Grand Lodge and Adjourning the whole of the Business.

---

There is some ground for the idea that jealousy among the Grand Officers gave rise to their determined and prolonged opposition. From another source we learn that they kept their company select and on occasions prevented the appearance of any of the rank and file of the Craft at their festive board when they themselves were the honoured guests of the Red Apron Stewards. The next extract emphasises the fact that the officers of private Lodges wore white lined aprons (and white collars) in accordance with the regulation governing clothing which had for so long been in force. A Minute of the Board of Grand Stewards, dated the 5th April, 1797, records the exclusion of all guests other than the distinguished wearers of the blue:—

> Brother Secretary [2] moved That no Member of this Board be permitted to invite any Brother wearing a *White Apron*, and no Brother wearing a White Apron be permitted to sup with the Grand Officers on Wednesday next, which was seconded by Brother Hemet [of O.K. Arms]. On the Question being put by Brother President a long conversation ensued between the Brethren and on a show of hands it appeared to be unanimously agreed to.

At the following meeting, a copy of the letter to Bros. White, Cuppage, and Wm. Virgo was read, embodying the above resolution, and continues: "It being "the wish of the board of Stewards to render the meeting as select as possible "and as far as they can to make every thing as comfortable as possible to the "Grand Officers . . ." [10 April, 1797.]

Before the April meeting of the Grand Lodge came round the matter of the green apron appears to have been extensively discussed by the Craft, and support for the rejection of the privilege by yet another motion for non-confirmation of the Minutes was canvassed among the Lodges, and from the enormous majority vote we cannot ascribe it to the weight thrown into the scale by the Grand Officers, for they were comparatively few; rather may it be ascribed to the views they had impressed upon the representatives of the Lodges. At the Quarterly Communication of the 12th April, 1797, the Acting Grand Master occupied the throne and himself moved the non-confirmation of the November Minute; over two hundred of the brethren were reported by the Senior Grand Warden as having voted on the motion, which being carried, led to another motion by two of the Country Stewards to eliminate the cause of all this discord, and probably to their own great surprise, the green collar and medal was also taken away instanter:—

> [Grand Lodge Minutes, 12 April, 1797.]
>
> The Minutes of the Grand Lodge held 8th February and the Minutes of the Grand Lodge held on 23$^{d}$. November last were read,
>
> Whereupon a Motion was made by the Right Hon$^{ble}$. the Earl of Moira Grand Master in the Chair seconded by George Porter Esq$^{r}$. Sen$^{r}$. Grand Warden Acting as Deputy Grand Master, That the Memorial of the Country Stewards Lodge presented to the Grand Lodge in November last and the Resolution thereon do not stand part of the Minutes of the said Grand Lodge.

[1] George Porter, S.G.W., again acted as G.M.
[2] The Secretary was George Eves, of No. 3, Pump Court, Temple.

And on the Question being put and the Numbers counted the Senior Grand Warden reported there were

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Question | 149 |
| Against it | 54 |
| Majority | 95 |

A Motion was made by Brother John Dowling of the Country Stewards Lodge, and seconded by Brother James Chapman of the same Lodge,

That the Grant of the Grand Lodge in Nov^r^. 1789 of a Green Collar and Medal to be worn by the Members of the Country Stewards Lodge be rescinded.

And on the Question being put It passed in the Affirmative.

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Next in the story comes the record of a Country Feast, again at Canonbury, but on this occasion the Stewards were shorn of their distinguishing glory, although the Lodge remained in existence [1]:—

1797. 5th July. This day the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, under the Constitution of England (His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales being Grand Master) held their Annual Feast, at Canonbury House, under the direction of the Lodge of Country Stewards. The Lodge was opened in the ante-chamber, whence the procession in all due Masonic form, with splendid regalia, passed into the large room, where a most numerous and respectable assembly of Brethren was collected. The chair was taken by Alderman Newnham, supported on the right by the Worshipful Brother Counsellor [2] Downing, Provincial Grand Master of the County of Essex, and on the left by Brother E. Dowling, Senior Master of the Lodge of the Three Grand Principles. Brother Wingfield, Master of the Lodge of Country Stewards, and Brother John Dowling, Past Master of the same Lodge, officiated as Wardens. The exertions of the Stewards were not confined to the present gratification of their numerous friends then assembled, they opened an additional source of pleasure by the production of several subscriptions to the Female Charity School, under the protection of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cumberland. On this occasion the venerable Master of the Knights Templars, Captain Hannam, was respectably conspicuous in bringing the subscription of ten guineas from his Chapter. The meeting was honoured with the presence of many Grand Stewards; and the whole was conducted with all that order, harmony, and friendship which the principles of the Royal Craft enforce, and by which it is the pride and the wish of every good Mason to regulate his life and actions.

Although not stated here, the precedent of the preceding year was in all probability followed, "the Grand Lodge being opened after dinner," and if the example of the Board of Grand Stewards of this same year were followed by the Country Stewards, we ought to add to the above description of the Country Feast that no French wines were served "except to the upper Table." A wine list of that date, as well as another of the next year, gives us the customary charges at similar Masonic functions, "The Prices of Wine agreed upon [by the Grand Stewards] was:—

[1] *Free Masons' Magazine*, July, 1797.
[2] George Downing.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Port | 4s.0d | per Bottle. |
| Sherry | 4.6 | |
| Madeira | 7.0 | |
| Hock | 10.6 | |
| Champaigne | 10.6 | |
| Burgundy | 10.6 | |
| Claret | 7.6 | |

It is impossible to say if these Country Feasts resulted in a profit. In the year I am dealing with we know the Grand Stewards had a balance to dispose of, and when they arranged for their winding-up meeting

> "It was proposed and agreed that the brethren of this board should meet at the same place on 15th Decr. next to dine in order that the balance in the hands of the Treas. might be spent."

From the Feast of 1797 we must now turn to a renewal of the battle over the green apron, and after the turn of the year we find the Grand Lodge faced with Memorial No. 3 from the Country Stewards:—

> [Grand Lodge Minutes, 7 Feb., 1798.]
>
> The following Memorial was presented to the Grand Lodge by Brother Jones Master of the Country Stewards Lodge and read. Vizt.
>
> To the Grand Master Officers and Brethren assembled in Quarterly Communication
>
> The Memorial of the Master Wardens & Brethren of the Country Stewards Lodge No. 449, Sheweth,
>
> That by a Resolution of the Grand Lodge in Quarterly Communication dated 25th November 1789, the Members of the Country Stewards Lodge were permitted as a Mark of Distinction to wear a Medal suspended by a Green Collar
>
> That at the Quarterly Communication held in April 1797 a Member then present moved That the Resolution above mentioned should be rescinded which was put and Carried
>
> That the Motion for rescinding the first Resolution was made without the previous consent or knowledge of the Country Stewards Lodge,
>
> Your Memorialists therefore pray that the Resolution made in April 1797 may be reconsidered and that the grant of the Privilege to wear the Collar and Medal may be restored to the Members of the Country Stewards Lodge
>
> Signed, Jno. Jones R.W.M.
> A. Shirreff J.W.
> Jam-Wingfield P.M.
> George Wilson
> Henry Clements
> J. Sarjent
> A. Hitchin
> Rd. Williams
> James Chapman [1]
> A. Johnston
> J. Moore [2]
> John Davis
> T. Matthews
> John Waller
> John Shallis
> Saml. Clanfield
> John Curtis.

[1] James Chapman had seconded the recission of the original grant of 1789 and now supports the petition of Memorial No. 3.

[2] Joseph Moore.

Whereupon a Motion was made, and duly seconded, "That the Prayer of the said Memorialists be complied with" which after due deliberation, on the Question being put, passed in the Affirmative.

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After the ding-dong fight in Grand Lodge the Country Stewards once more enjoyed their coveted distinction, and their Feast of 1798 once again saw them resplendent in their green collars:—

1798. July. A very numerous and respectable body of Brethren attended the Annual Celebration of the Country Stewards' Feast, on Thursday, the 5th July, at Canonbury House, Islington, where Bro. Edward Dowling, with his usual attention to the interests of this Society, had the honour to preside. An elegant dinner, many loyal songs and toasts, and a liberal collection for the benefit of the Freemasons' Charity School, peculiarly distinguished this meeting. The day was spent with the greatest conviviality and harmony.

(*Free Masons' Magazine*, July, 1798.)

At this point all records become silent, and in consequence my story ends. There is nothing to be found in our official records, either Minutes or registers, nor in the Press or calendars. By some mysterious process the Lodge passed out of existence, there was no formal erasure reported to the Grand Lodge, the members may have consented to cease work; certainly the Country Feast was abandoned by the Society, and there being no longer *raison d'etre* the Country Stewards' Lodge came to an untimely end. It was last represented in Grand Lodge at the April meeting of 1799, and its warrant was re-issued in 1802 to a Gloucestershire Lodge,[1] which in 1808 took the prefix "Royal" and later returned the document for endorsement to this effect. The endorsement reads as follows:—

Be it known that the above named Lodge, which by the General Alteration in Numbers, in the year 1792 became number 449, was by the consent of the Most Worshipful Grand Master removed to Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, in the year 1802, to be there held under the title or denomination of the Lodge of Faith and Friendship. And that in the year 1808 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Grand Master, visited the said Lodge, And was thereupon Pleased to Grant Permission and Authority for the Lodge to be henceforth called the Royal Lodge of Faith and Friendship.

Its present number in consequence of the Union of the Two Fraternities of Free and Accepted Masons, on the 27th day of December, 1813, being 509, and by which last alteration in Name and Number it is accordingly recorded in the Books of the United Grand Lodge of England.

Free Masons Hall
London, the 15th November, A.L. 5819
A.D. 1819

William H. White
Grand Secretary.

Bro. Tuckett has expressed in a letter to me the opinion that the Lodge of Faith and Friendship was certainly at work for some time prior to the transfer of this Warrant, and considers that it started in 1789, the same year that the Country Stewards' Lodge came into existence.

---

[1] No. 449 B, Faith and Friendship, at Berkeley.

## MEMBERS OF THE COUNTRY STEWARDS' LODGE.

Allen, Edward. Joined 13th June, 1791; Attorney, of Clifford's Inn, age 30.

Allen, John. Joined 11th April, 1791; was an Attorney of Clements Inn, age 50. Belonged to the Lodge at the Crown & Rolls, No. 16, now Globe No. 23; joined the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 in 1768 and became Secretary, Junior and Senior Warden in 1769 and 1770; served as Grand Steward 1769, and joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge 1769 to 1781; re-joined 1784 and declined 1795.

In the Royal Arch he was active; exalted in the Caledonian Chapter 1765; revived the Chapter of the Garden of Eden, 1769; signed as N. the original Charter of Compact which was found among his papers at his death and presented to Grand Chapter by William Henry White in 1811. His "Freemasons' Hall Medal" is now in the possession of Brother Thomas K. White, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In 1778 he was appointed by Grand Chapter "to be our Inspector General, and to hold the great seal of our Order in Commission." He was Grand Superintendent of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1778 or earlier.

In 1788 a Charter was issued to him and others by Charles Shirreff to work the Ineffable Degrees.[1]

Ayres, William. Joined 12th April, 1790; Hatter, of Fleet Market, aged 32. Was also a member of Emulation, No. 12, and served as Grand Steward (red apron) for that Lodge in 1795. A Brother Ayres was in 1788 a Steward at the Annual Feast at Vauxhall of the Royal Grand Modern Order of Jerusalem Sols. His address, at the time he joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge, is given as Holborn Bridge, at other times, Fleet Market. In 1794 he joined the Lodge of Unanimity No. 283 at Islington, in company with Samuel Clanfield, another Country Steward.

Barker, ———. One of the Stewards of 1785, named in the Freemasons' Calendar of that year. There is no trace of his Lodge.[2]

Benwell, James, first Junior Warden. For further particulars see body of the paper.

Black, James. Joined 10th May, 1793; Printer, of Tower Hill, age 33.

Bliss, James [Senior], first Senior Warden. For further particulars see body of paper.

Bryant, John. Joined 12th April, 1790; Attorney, of No. 13, New Inn, age 33.

Callendar, John. Joined 1st July, 1790; Gentleman, of Kingsland Road, age 46.

Cawthorne, George. Joined 8th June, 1792; Merchant, of Abchurch Lane, age 50.

Chapman, James. Is not in the Grand Lodge Register. Seconded the motion of John Dowling, 1797, 12th April, to rescind the privilege of a Jewel and green Collar granted in 1789 to the Country Stewards.

Probably he was the James Chapman of the Lodge of Emulation, R.W.M. in 1796, as were his friends Benwell and Hemming.

Clanfield, Samuel. Joined September 14th, 1789; Fire Work Maker, Hosier Lane, age 40. He served as Country Steward in 1790 and as Grand Steward (red apron) in 1791 for the Lodge of Emulation; was a member of the Lodge of Utility at the White Hart, Holborn, from which he joined the Lodge of Antiquity in 1777, and joined

[1] Hughan's *English Rite.*

[2] There were two brethren of prominence in this year who bore the name of Barker. This one may have been (1) Richard, of the Globe Lodge, and Somerset House, Grand Steward in 1774; or (2) William, of the Lodge of Antiquity, Master in 1777 and 1778, also 1786, who appears in the Cagliostro print.

Whereupon a Motion was made, and duly seconded, "That the Prayer of the said Memorialists be complied with" which after due deliberation, on the Question being put, passed in the Affirmative.

---

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William H. White
Grand Secretary.

Bro. Tuckett has expressed in a letter to me the opinion that the Lodge of Faith and Friendship was certainly at work for some time prior to the transfer of this Warrant, and considers that it started in 1789, the same year that the Country Stewards' Lodge came into existence.

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[1] No. 449 B, Faith and Friendship, at Berkeley.

the schismatic party, being one of the promoters of the Grand Lodge of All England South of the River Trent. In 1787 (May 21st) he joined No. 12, Lodge of Emulation, now 21, and served as Grand Steward for that Lodge; and in 1795, on the 6th August, he joined the Bank of England Lodge No. 440, when he is described as a Stockbroker. In 1803 he joined the Jerusalem Lodge No. 263, his address then being given as Islington; and also belonged to a local Lodge No. 283 A, the Lodge of the Three Grand Principles, which then met at the King's Head Tavern in Upper Street. This Lodge he had joined earlier, being elected in February, 1794, "Fireworker, Holborn." His Country Stewards' Jewel is now in the Worcestershire Provincial Museum.

Clarke, Stephen. Joined 12th July, 1790; Esq$^{re}$., of [No. 15] Broker's Row, Moorfields, was City Marshal in 1786. Made in the Constitution Lodge, now No. 21, Emulation, in November, 1773, and was its Treasurer from 1775 to 1779. In 1787 we find him one of the Stewards of the Knights of the Moon; and he served as Grand Steward in 1784 for his mother Lodge. He was Secretary and afterwards Treasurer of the Grand Stewards' Lodge. His portrait as City Marshal is to be found in the "History of the Lodge of Emulation No. 21" (H. Sadler).

Clements, Henry. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a member, 7th February, 1798.

Cuppage, Christopher. Joined 1792, 13th April; Schoolmaster, of Warwick Street, age 40. He joined the British Lodge, No. 4 on the 16th January, 1787; the Shakespear Lodge in 1786, and of which he was Master in 1787; was Secretary, at an annual fee of five guineas, of the Lodge Regularity; and at various dates the professional scribe of several other Lodges such as Somerset House, St. Albans (1789) and the Royal Lodge (1801). Of these he was also a permanent Steward besides being Secretary. He was Grand Steward for the Lodge of Friendship in 1790, and became Secretary of the Board of Grand Stewards; Provincial Grand Secretary of Essex in 1797.

He was Secretary of the Girls' School and also of the Military Asylum at Chelsea. He died in 1804.

Curtis, John. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Davis, John. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Davis, Thomas. Joined 5th July, 1793; Broker, Bishopsgate, aged 36. Made in Emulation No. 12 on the 21st February, 1791.

Deane, } Deans, } James By the description given of him in the Register this must be James Deans; joined 14th March, 1791; Gentleman, of Lothbury, age 26; made 1783 in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12, now 21, of which he became R.W.M. in 1811, 1812 and 1813, and remained a member until 1827. In 1786 he joined the Jerusalem Lodge No. 263, now 197, which claims him as an initiate of that Lodge,[1] and of which he was several times Master, and its Secretary for fifteen years.

In 1801 he served as Grand Steward, and became R.W.M. of the Grand Stewards' Lodge. In 1809 he was appointed to the Lodge of Promulgation, and was S. Warden. The Duke of Sussex selected him as one of the three Commissioners to adjust the conditions of the Union, and as such signed the Articles of Union.

[1] Gould's *History* II., 499.

In 1815 he was one of the special Board of Installed Masters appointed by the Duke of Sussex in connection with the Lodge of Reconciliation. He died in 1838.

Dowling, Edward, Senior. Joined 14th March, 1791; Merchant, of Aldermanbury, age 49; was a benefactor of the Cumberland School, and in 1789 offered to supply all the clothing for the girls free of expense "which was gratefully accepted." He is then described as a Norwich Warehouseman. As seen in the narrative, he was Senior P.M. of the Lodge of the Three Grand Principles.

Dowling, Edward, Junior. Joined 12th April, 1790; Merchant, of Aldermanbury, aged 25. Made in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12 on the 19th October, 1789, when he was described as Warehouseman, Aldermanbury. He served as its Master in 1797.

Dowling, John. Joined 11th January, 1790; Merchant, of Aldermanbury. Made in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12 on the 1st June, 1789. He was R.W.M. of this Lodge in 1796, and signed a letter from No. 540 to the Royal Lodge No. 251. Moved [1] in Grand Lodge the recission of the privilege of a Jewel and green Collar, 12th April, 1797. He is described as a Past Master of the Country Stewards' Lodge in July, 1797.

Emblin, Richard. Wine Merchant, of Fountain Court Strand, a founder and named in the Warrant; age 40. Joined the George Lodge No. 100—age 25; Gentleman, Windmill Street, 18th December, 1781.

Grant, Alexander. Joined 10th January, 1791; Printer, of Wardour Street, age 38. He was made (according to the Grand Lodge Register) in the Lodge of Antiquity, 15th January, 1777, but there is no mention of him in Brother Rylands' "History of the Lodge of Antiquity."

Grey, } Gray, } Joseph. Joined 1792, 13th April; Merchant, of Milk Street, age 36. He was made in the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 in 1790.

Gwynne, David. Joined 12th April, 1790; Taylor, of Frith Street, Soho; age 29. He was made in the Lodge of Antiquity in 1787; joined No. 55 Brotherly Love, 20th August, 1787; a founder in 1790 of the Harodim Lodge; joined the Westminster and Keystone Lodge in 1802; also the Old King's Arms Lodge of which he was R.W.M. on several occasions between 1793 and 1805, and Secretary in 1806.[2] He served as a Grand Steward for 1793 in the room of John Padmore.

Hannam, William. Joined 11th April, 1791; Gentleman, of the Savoy, age 59. He must have been father, or a relative, of the William Hannam made 1801 in the Old King's Arms Lodge, and Grand Steward in 1803 for that Lodge. Dunckerley describes him more than once as Captain William Hannam, who was associated with the Grand Chapter and Knights Templar. As Acting G.M. of the latter body we find his signature on three warrants, one in 1791 for the Observance Chapter of Encampment, one in 1795 for Dunckerley's Encampment at Manchester (formerly warranted from York),[3] and the third dated the same year for the Cross of Christ Encampment, now St. George's Preceptory.

His name is also on the list of the Lodge of Sincerity No. 87, Southwark, when his residence is given as Marsham Street,

[1] *A.Q.C.* xxxi., 113.

[2] In August, 1787, he joined No. 55 A, the Lodge of Brotherly Love, at the King's Head, Holborn.

[3] *A.Q.C.* xviii., p. 173.

Westminster; on that of No. 46, at the Coal Hole, Fountain Court, Strand, which he joined on the 18th of April, 1782, age 48, Gentleman; and in the list of the Gothic Lodge No. 274, I find he was made at the age of 43 in the year 1775, described as "In the Army." The Lodge of Honour No. 497 also gives him as "Army" when he joined that Lodge in 1776.

Harris, ———. One of the Stewards for 1785, mentioned in the *Freemasons' Calendar* for that year, and in all probability was John Harris, Grand Steward of the previous year.

Heming, / Hemming } John, Merchant of Bear Binder Lane, a founder and named in the Warrant; age 28. Joined the Prince of Wales' Lodge 25th May, 1792; Master of the Lodge of Emulation in 1791, in which he was made November 19th, 1787; described as a Warehouseman of Bearbinder Lane, age 27.

Hiller, Joseph. Joined 8th March, 1790; Silversmith, of Birchin-lane, age 30. Joined the Lodge of Emulation, May 17th, 1790.

Hitchin, A. Not in Grand Lodge Register; signed the third Memorial, 7th February, 1798.

Hughes, Joseph. Joined 5th July, 1790; Linen Draper, of Kensington; age 36.

Johnston, A. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Jones, John. Joined April, 1790 (date not given); Attorney, of New Inn, age 35. Senior Warden in 1796, when the second Memorial was presented to Grand Lodge, and R.W.M. in 1798, when the third Memorial was presented to Grand Lodge.

Joyce, James. Joined 10th August, 1789; was both a Modern and Antient Mason, having been re-made in No. 8 B (Athol) Kent Lodge in September, 1784, and paid quarterage to June, 1786; is here described as a Sail Maker of St. John's, Southwark, as well as in the Bank of England Lodge No. 526, being named in the Warrant of the latter. He was made 14th February, 1784, in the Lodge of Peace and Plenty No. 88, Horsleydown, age 35, and in October of the same year joined No. 71, the Lodge of Sincerity, Southwark.

Lewington, John. Joined 8th June, 1792; Carpenter, Strand, age 45. He was made 14th May, 1782, in the Coal Hole Lodge, Fountain Court, Strand—now No. 46 Old Union.

Lolham, Thomas. Joined 5th July, 1793; of Hampstead, age 40.

Maler, John. Joined 14th June, 1793; Taylor, of Porter Street, age 33.

Matthews, Francis. Joined 14th December, 1789; Attorney, of Castle Street, Holborn. Made 1783 in No. 7, Tuscan Lodge, now 14. Signed the third Memorial to Grand Lodge, 7th February, 1798; in the copy entered in the Minutes his initial given as T., an error for F.

Moore, Joseph. Printer, of Drury Lane, a founder and named in the Warrant; age 36. Joined the Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 55 on the 21st June, 1784. He joined the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 in May, 1785, when he was described as a Letter-founder of Drury Lane. He was J.W. of the Lodge of Antiquity in 1826.

Morgan, Francis Lewis. Joined 11th April, 1791; Gentleman, of the Royal Exchange, age 25. He was made 19th October, 1789, in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12, and in March, 1792, joined the Old King's Arms Lodge. Grand Steward for that Lodge in 1792, and joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge, whose records in 1795

state:—"Oct. 21. 1795. Ordered to be discontinued for the present. Gone away, not to be found in the Fleet, now out, direct [letters] to No. 7 Villiers Street, York Buildings." A later entry adds, "Gone to West Indies." The Lodge list of 1796 confirms this, "Discontinued February 15th, Gone abroad." Other addresses of his were (1791) City Chambers, Bishopsgate, and (1793) Assurance Office, Strand.

Newnham, Nathaniel. Joined 13th April, 1792; Esquire, of Powis Place, Great Ormond Street, age 50. Alderman, Member of Parliament, and Lord Mayor of London 1782-3; a member of the Mourning Bush Lodge, now Emulation No. 21, which he joined in November, 1781; and also of the Britannic Lodge in 1798. Served as Grand Steward 1785, and joined the Grand Stewards' Lodge, "discontinued October 19th, 1793." J.G.W. in 1786; at the stonelaying of Covent Garden Theatre in 1808 he acted as S.G.W. at the Special Grand Lodge. As mentioned in the course of the paper he presided as G.M. at the Country Feast of 1797.

Nield [James]. One of the Stewards of 1785, mentioned in the *Freemasons' Calendar* of that year. Joined Somerset House Lodge in March, 1772, when he is described as "Silversmith, St. James's Street," and for which Lodge he served as Grand Steward in 1773, being Treasurer of the Board of Stewards. In 1790 he was Junior Grand Warden.

As examples of his work in silver I may mention the Secretary's Jewel of Shakespear Lodge (1792) mounted in crystals, a very fine piece of craft; and the Grand Stewards' Jewel of James Mist, in Grand Lodge Museum.

Padmore, John. Joined 14th February, 1791; Gentleman, of Bond Court, Walbrook, age 27. Later he removed to Charlotte Row, Bermondsey. His original Lodge is not known, but in 1790 he joined the Old King's Arms Lodge and in 1791 the Lodge of Antiquity; was also a member of the Bank of England Lodge. In 1791 he was elected a Grand Steward, but did not serve the office.

Palmer, Peregrine, Attorney, of Barnards Inn. A founder and named in the Warrant; age 35.

Parker, Thomas. Joined 10th August, 1789; Ribbon Weaver, of Friday Street; age 28. Made in the Bank of England Lodge No. 526, 24th November, 1788. Joined the Lodge of Freedom and Ease now No. 46, Old Union. One of the Grand Stewards (red apron) in 1772 was named Thomas Parker. The elder Parker joined Alfred Lodge, Oxford, in 1773 and in 1777 signed the Grand Lodge Certificate of Ensign George Parker (made by deputation in London), a son of the Second Earl of Macclesfield. It is probable Thomas, Senior, was not a relative of Ensign George, the similarity of surnames being a coincidence. Thomas belonged to No. 3 Friendship and was its Treasurer, and in 1775 joined No. 2 Somerset House Lodge; in 1789 he joined No. 88 the Lodge of Peace and Plenty, Horsleydown; was S.G.W. 1775, and was Provincial Grand Master of Surrey 1772-95.

Pownall, Benjamin, Wine Merchant, of Guildhall Coffee House, a founder and named in the Warrant; age 40. He also belonged to the Lodge of Peace and Plenty No. 88, and is described in that list as "Master of the Guildhall Coffee House"; also of the Lodge of Sincerity No. 71, in which he was made 6th February, 1788, age 38, Vintner, of King Street, Cheapside.

Reeves, William. Joined 10th August, 1789; Baker, of Chapel Street, Westminster.

Roche, James. [Roach] Joined 1789, 10th August; Perfumer, of King Street, Bloomsbury; was a member of Globe Lodge, now 23, and R.W.M. in 1796. Joined Antiquity No. 1 in January, 1789; and Old King's Arms in 1800. His address is given elsewhere as King Street, Holborn.

Ruspini, The Chevalier Bartholomew. Joined 10th January, 1791; of Pall Mall, age 50. He appears to have been initiated in 1762 in a Lodge meeting at the Bush Tavern at Bristol. He joined the Lodge of the Nine Muses on the 14th January, 1777, and was W.M. in February, 1796; joined St. Alban's 25, now 29, date not given; a founder of the Prince of Wales's Lodge and its first Treasurer, holding that office till his death on 14th December, 1813; joined the Lodge of Regularity in 1789; he was Grand Steward in 1772 for St. Alban's Lodge.

At the Grand Feast of 1791, Ruspini was appointed Grand Sword Bearer, being recommended for the office by the Prince of Wales's Lodge, "in recognition of his worth and integrity, and his long and successful endeavours to promote the honour of Masonry by many public and private acts of Benevolence and Charity"; he held this office up to his death.

Ruspini's connection with the Royal Cumberland School—or the Girls' School as we now call it—is well known, and need not be detailed here. In 1790 he threw up the office of Treasurer in consequence of a scurrilous and anonymous attack, when the General Meeting of April that year countered by a vote of thanks to him for his great services, to show their confidence.

Sarjent, J. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Schabner, Thomas. Joined 14th November, 1791; Mercer, of Tavistock Street. The Register shows him as having been made on this date, but this is an error (as in the cases of Lewington and Jones, *ante*) for Thomas Schabner, Habit Maker, of Tavistock Street, was made in the Old King's Arms Lodge in 1790. His jewel, mounted in green and white paste, is now in the Grand Lodge Museum.

Scurry, Francis. Joined 12th April, 1790; Timber Merchant, of Shad Thames. As a Modern Mason he was re-made Antient in Kent Lodge No. 8 B (Athol) in 1784, and paid quarterage to June, 1786.[1] He was another of the founders of the Bank of England Lodge No. 526, age 42; and his name appears in 1778 in the list of Lodge Peace and Plenty No. 88, Horsleydown, age 32, Timber Merchant, Shad Thames.

Shallis, John. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Shirreff, Alexander. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed as Junior Warden the third Memorial to Grand Lodge, 7th February, 1798. Made in the Lodge of Concord No. 228 on the 11th April, 1791.

Smithers, Henry. Joined 12th April, 1790; Wharfinger, St. Saviour's, Southwark, age 32. Made in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12 on the 26th of July, 1787, when he is described as Coal Merchant, age 23, of St. Mary Overy's Ch. yd.

[1] Atholl Register F., fo. 57.

Squire, Thomas. Joined 13th April, 1792; Cutler, of Cheapside, age 30. Made February 21st, 1791, in the Lodge of Emulation No. 12, and is described as Thomas Squires Junior.

Strickland, Thomas. Joined 10th May, 1793; Merchant, of Greenland Dock, age 36.

Waller, John. Joined 13th April, 1792; Coachmaker, of Gray's Inn Lane, age 50. He joined the Lodge of Freedom & Ease, 10th March, 1795, his address then being given as Long Acre.

Watkins, Walter. Joined 10th May, 1793; of Charing Cross, age 36.

Watson, George. Joined 5th July, 1793; Ironmonger, of Hampstead, age 35.

Westerman, William. Joined 12th April, 1790; Plumber, of Bermondsey Street Southwark, age 27. He was made on the 27th November, 1788, in the Bank of England Lodge at the Guildhall Coffee House, and in June of 1789 joined No. 88, the Lodge of Peace and Plenty, Horsleydown; and joined Old King's Arms Lodge in the same year.

Whalley, Richard Walker, named in the Warrant as first R.W.M. For further particulars see body of paper.

Wickings, William. Joined 14th February, 1791; Surveyor, of Islington, age 27.

Williams, Richard. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member 7th February, 1798.

Wilson, George. Is not in Grand Lodge Register. Signed the third Memorial as a Member, 7th February, 1798.

Wilson, Thomas. Joined 8th March, 1790; Attorney, of Newcastle Court, Temple Bar, age 26. Made 10th April, 1775, in Emulation No. 12.

Wingfield, James. Is not in the Grand Lodge Register for this Lodge.
Master of the Country Stewards' Lodge, November, 1796, when the second Memorial was submitted to Grand Lodge, and shelved, and also at the Country Feast of 1797 he was the Master. As a P.M. of the Lodge he signed the third Memorial, 7th February, 1798. He was made 22nd January, 1794, in the Lodge of Regularity No. 117; Attorney of John Street, Golden Square.

Woodthorpe, Henry. Town Clerk of London 1801 to 1825, in which year he died. Joined 14th March, 1791; Gentleman, of the Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall, age 40. Made in the Lodge of Emulation, now No. 21, November 16th, 1789. As a boy he was at Christ's Hospital, from 1764 to 1770. An oval medal dated 1785 of the "Amicable Society of Blues" was exhibited at our Lodge in 1918 (*A.Q.C.* xxxi., p. 5); this was an association of the old Scholars of Christ's. In the year of his death he was present at the stone-laying of London Bridge.

In addition to the above list there were a large number of members who were never registered as such. Of those given above I have traced sixteen as having belonged to the Lodge of Emulation, while ten others were members of Antiquity and similar Lodges.

A table is attached of attendances of the Lodge and Contributions at the meetings of Grand Lodge and of the Committee of Charity, which shows the regularity of its attendances, and the sudden close of the activities of the Lodge.

COUNTRY STEWARDS' LODGE No. 540 (MODERNS).

| Year | Date | | | Charity Fund. | Hall Fund. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1789 | 25 Nov. | G.L. | Paid for its Constitution | 3.3.0 | 3.3.0 |
| 1790 | 5 Feb. | C.C. | | | |
| | 10 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 7 April | G.L. | | | |
| | 6 August | C.C. | | | |
| | 3 Sept. | G.L. | | | |
| | 19 Nov. | C.C. | | | |
| | 24 Nov. | G.L. | ... ... ... | 1.1.0 | 3.7.6 |
| 1791 | 9 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 8 April | C.C. | | | |
| | 13 April | G.L. | | | |
| | 23 Nov. | G.L. | ... ... ... | 1.1.0 | 1.7.6 |
| 1792 | 3 Feb. | C.C. | | | |
| | 8 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 13 April | C.C. | | | |
| | 18 April | G.L. | | | |
| | 21 Nov. | G.L.[1] | | | |
| 1793 | 10 April | G.L. | ... ... ... | 1.1.0 | |
| | 27 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1794 | 9 April | G.L. | ... ... ... | 1.1.0 | 2.0.0 |
| | 21 Nov. | C.C. | | | |
| | 26 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1795 | 6 Feb. | C.C. | | | |
| | 20 Nov. | C.C. | | | |
| | 25 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1796 | 10 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 23 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1797 | 3 Feb. | C.C. | | | |
| | 8 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 12 April | G.L. | | | |
| | 17 Nov. | C.C. | | | |
| | 22 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1798 | 2 Feb. | C.C. | | | |
| | 7 Feb. | G.L. | | | |
| | 16 Nov. | C.C. | | | |
| | 21 Nov. | G.L. | | | |
| 1799 | 6 Feb. | G.L. | ... ... ... | 2.4.0 | |
| | 10 April | G.L. | | | |

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[1] Its number had now become 449.

Bro. R. H. Baxter said:—

There is probably no member of the Lodge so competent as there is certainly none so satisfactorily placed as Bro. Wonnacott for dealing with the subject he has just so adequately presented to us.

The paper is of interest not only on account of the forthcoming visit of the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge to Liverpool in September, but to us in this Lodge specially in view of the splendid success of our own Summer Outings, and of our approaching visit to Bath.

Our Northern cities and large manufacturing centres can hardly suitably be described as country towns. London itself has a clearer atmosphere and greener and fresher vegetation than can possibly be found in such places as Manchester or Leeds, where we may have Grand Lodge meetings in due course.

Should the experiment of holding the autumnal communication of Grand Lodge in the Provinces prove a success—as I have no doubt it will do—there seems no reason why the custom of appointing stewards for the festival should not be revived. It would not be very easy for such Stewards to form themselves into a Lodge, but, failing the possibility of them being admitted to membership of the Grand Stewards' Lodge in London, the difficulties of a movement in another direction are not insurmountable.

There is not much room for criticism of Bro. Wonnacott's paper, and I hardly expect much more light to be thrown on the subject. I see that Bro. John Allen's Provincial Grand Mastership of Lancashire (1769-1807) is not mentioned, although his R.A. Superintendency of Lancashire and Cheshire is duly noted.

It must have been a matter of particular gratification to Bro. Wonnacott to find that at one time, and that so late as the end of the eighteenth century, it was possible for an architect to hold the office of Junior Grand Warden and even to officiate as Deputy Grand Master. I find from Gwilt's *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, edited by the late Mr. Wyatt Papworth, who, although not a Freemason, was a good friend to this Lodge and a contributor to its *Transactions*, that:—

> Robert Furze Brettingham, of England, erected the gaols at Reading, Hertford, Poole, Downpatrick and Northampton; Winchester House, St. James's Square; No. 9, Berkeley Square; Maidenhead Bridge, and many alterations at noblemen's houses in the country.

There is probably no doubt that the gentleman described above was the same individual as Robert Brettingham the J.G.W. of 1796.

I have great pleasure in moving that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Bro. Wonnacott for his paper.

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Bro. Gordon Hills said:—

The choice of *Green* for the distinctive colour of the collar for Past Stewards of the Country Feast in 1789 and the attempt to further extend this colour to the linings of their aprons, would seem, on the face of it, obviously suggested by the associations of the greenery of the country, but, as Bro. Wonnacott has pointed out, the ancient use of the Lodge of Antiquity up to 1739 was a precedent for this colour, and the use by that Lodge cannot be explained as any reference to the countryside—yet the fact that its adoption was moved by Bro. Whalley, Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, may mean that he knew that there was a precedent for green collars and linings. As regards the use of green by the Lodge of Antiquity, I have happened on a reference in Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (3rd edition, 1737) which

no doubt gives a current notion of contemporary ideas, where, under *Geometry,* it is stated:—

> Geometry is painted as a lady with a sallow face, clad in a green mantle, fringed with silver, and holding a silver wand in her right hand.

So that there was some precedent for *green* as a colour associated with *Geometry*. The winged figure on the Country Stewards' Jewel appears to be the medallist's conception of Geometry or Masonry, winged and with a staff in the *left* hand.

Bro. Cuppage is a Masonic personality who crops up in Lodge histories of this period. I met him and dealt with his activities in my paper on the Royal Lodge Minutes, but was unable to decide whether he was initiated in the Kings Arms Lodge No. 35 or in the St. James's Lodge No. 108A, the ceremony having been stated by Bro. Ebblewhite to have taken place in November, 1785. Perhaps Bro. Wonnacott can clear up this point.

Is the Bro. Harris "one of the Stewards for 1785" possibly *Thomas* Harris who resigned the Royal Lodge in 1790 and joined the Prince of Wales Lodge in 1788? Bro. Hextall, who contributed to the discussion of my paper, mentions two other variants for the Christian name of a Brother Harris—James or Joseph, G.Stewd. in 1739, a good many years earlier.

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Dr. H. G. Rosedale *writes*:—

It is difficult at present to add very much to the invaluable compilation of facts which our learned Bro. Wonnacott has given to this Lodge and the Craft generally. I feel sure that many Masonic students will henceforth have their attention still farther directed to the Minutes of 18th century Lodges and to the subject of the 'pre-union' practices, all of which seem to have left so few records as to make it difficult to construct a complete and satisfactory history of the Craft.

The paper by Bro. Wonnacott is a most interesting side-light on the practices of our forebears in Masonry, and doubtless the history of 'Country Feasts' will be developed as time goes on upon the foundations laid this evening. That the 'Country Feasts' or 'Country Lodges' must have been a matter of some importance may be gathered from the fact that as early as the year 1794, though the tickets for the Grand Feast were 10/6, the tickets for the 'Country Lodge' were £1.1.0 each, and whilst the Grand Feast was usually held in May or June, the Country Feast appears to have been held in July. Further than this, from the Minutes of the Bedford Lodge I gather that the occasion was of sufficient importance for the Fraternity to go out of its way in order to enable Brethren to be present. It appears to have been necessary (and doubtless what we should expect) for every attendant at the Feast to be a Master Mason. There is an interesting record in the Minute Books of the above Lodge on July 2nd, 1794, that John Field was made, passed and raised on the same day "on account of attending the Country Feast." Country Lodge and Country Feast appear to have been interchangeable terms.

I do not like to venture a view in contradistinction to that held by the able writer of the paper, but I cannot forebear to express the view that at these meetings there was something in the nature of business, certainly an opening and closing and possibly something further. I gather this from the fact that the term 'Country *Lodge*,' was used, and also because, just after the period we are alluding to, the individual Lodges began the practice of meeting outside London in the summer, and it was their practice to transact business in one of the three degrees, at such gatherings, a course which I cannot doubt they would hardly have adopted at the Country Feast had not the more important bodies of which they were the followers set them an example. On this subject, however, divergent views may be held.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Librarian of Grand Lodge on the very useful work he is doing in evolving fresh matter from the valuable records under his charge, and of which he is so capable of making the best use.

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Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett *writes*:—

We are greatly indebted to Bro. Wonnacott for this interesting account of the Country Stewards and their Green Apron and Collar and Medal. These have hitherto received very little beyond a passing mention.

Bro. Wonnacott reminds me that in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiv., at p. 288, I made myself responsible for the statement that Lodge of Faith and Friendship at Berkeley was founded in 1789. There is clear evidence that it was at work for some considerable period before it was granted the Warrant and Number of the Country Stewards' Lodge in 1802, and there is a tradition that its labours commenced in 1789, the year in which the Country Stewards' Lodge came into existence. This tradition certainly looks like a confused echo of a report concerning the previous history of the Warrant. But, on the other hand, it is possible that the tradition is true, and the eagerness to possess that particular Warrant may have been due to a mistaken belief that it would regularise the Lodge from its formation. It should also be noted that there is a tradition that the Lodge migrated to Berkeley from Bristol, but there is no real evidence to show that such was really the case.

The late Bro. R. W. Little is the authority for the statement that in or about the year 1760 there existed a body calling itself 'The Consecrated Free and Accepted Knight Masons,' with Sir W. Hannam for its 'Knight Grand Elected Deputy Master,' and working a Rite of Seven Degrees. There seems to be no doubt that such a body existed, but little reliance can be placed in the date 'in or about 1760,' which appears to be no more than a guess made by Bro. Little.

The following notes concerning William Hannam may be of interest. Captain William Hannam, Provost-Marshal of H.M. Guards, resident within the Savoy Precincts, was in his time a prominent Freemason especially in the Royal Arch and Order of the Temple. He was also very active in the 'Diluvian Order or Royal Ark and Mark Mariners and Good Samaritans.' In all of these he was closely associated with Bro. Thomas Dunckerley, and acted as his Deputy G.M. in the Grand Conclave of K.T. At Dunckerley's death in November, 1795, Hannam was Acting G.M., and became Deputy to the new G.M. Lord Rancliffe. Hannam died in November, 1796, and the *Freemasons' Magazine* (for November, 1796) contains his portrait and a brief obituary notice, but the Editor remarks that he had decided "not to trouble our readers with a tedious biography."

Capt. Hannam was a frequent visitor to Bristol, and joined freely in the Masonic life of the City, more particularly in connection with the Royal Arch. The Minutes of the venerable Chapter of Charity, Warranted December 15th, 1769, are intact from 1784, and they record that in December, 1785 the thanks of the Chapter were voted to Comp. Hannam for his advice as to procuring Robes for the Three Principals. On June 26th, 1789, the Chapter held an Emergency Meeting "Call'd on acct of Comp Hannam being in Town on a "Visit," upon which occasion Comp. Hannam "took upon him the office above "mentioned [*i.e.*, Z.] for this night and went through the whole ceremony to "the satisfaction of all the Companions present." Four days later, on June 30th, 1789, the Camp of Baldwyn (at Bristol) admitted '——— Hanham' as a member, and, beyond all possible doubt, this is the same man.

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Bro. HENRY LOVEGROVE *writes*:—

Now that the experiment is about to be made of holding the September Grand Lodge in the Provinces the paper by Bro. Wonnacott reminds us of an ancient custom of members of the Grand Lodge.

It appears reasonable for the Provincial Brethren to desire to hold such a meeting, but, on the other hand, they can find business or pleasure an excuse for a visit to London when no London Brother would think of going to Newcastle, and, personally, I do not like any departure from old customs.

The Country Feast appears to have been held a very short distance from headquarters, as the Canonbury Tower is often referred to. The rooms here are not very large, so that the gathering of Masons must have been limited. At present there is a Hall and some other rooms added a few years since by the late Lord Northampton, who at the same time restored the tower and the old rooms without employing an architect, his then steward being a Royal Engineer officer; and as the work had to be done to my satisfaction I was much interested in the restoration, and received from his Lordship quite undeserved thanks. Lodges of Instruction and a Club occupy the building.

Hampstead also appears to have been selected, and Putney, both places now within the County of London.

The expenses of these outings appear to have been very moderate, as a little party at the 'Mitre,' Hampton Court, would cost a great deal more.

A most interesting part of the paper is that relating to the Green Aprons and Collars and the reference to White Collars. When did the Light Blue Collars come in?

I am interested in the last paragraph. Bro. Henry Woodthorpe, Town Clerk of the City of London 1801 to 1825. He was, I believe, succeeded by his son, and another son, Edmund, was an Architect and District Surveyor for part of the City, with the reputation of being the best dressed man in the profession, and by his death in 1887 was succeeded by his son, also a good Mason, with whom I was friendly until his early death in 1906.

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Bro. WONNACOTT *writes* as follows, in reply:—

The appreciation of the Brethren in according a vote of thanks for the foregoing paper has been further shown by much correspondence on the subject. My thanks in return are due to those who assisted me, particularly to Brother Thomas K. White, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who lent an actual specimen of the Green Apron which belonged to William White; to the Province of Worcester for the loan of the magnificent paste mounted Jewel of the Country Stewards from their Museum; and to Brother W. R. Makins, now Assistant Librarian at Grand Lodge, who specialises in searching old newspaper files, and to whom I am grateful for several references embodied in this paper.

Some points were brought out in the interesting discussion that followed, that by Brother Gordon Hills being a pertinent one, the connection of the Green colour with the conception of Geometry. Bro. Rosedale's suggestion that the terms "Country Feast" and "Country Lodge" were interchangeable I am unable to agree with in the light of the quotations given above. It may have been so as regards the Minutes of the Bedford Lodge, but I refrained from dealing in detail with the proceedings of any private Lodge. Having read and noted many Minute Books, the practice of opening and closing and dealing with Lodge business at these private outings must have been the exception rather than the rule.

In the case of the Country Stewards the paper will make it sufficiently clear that no such practice existed.

Bro. Tuckett adds some valuable information in his contribution. His mention of Little's reference to William Hannam and the rite of seven Degrees so early as 1760 is important. Little was rather wide of the mark in point of date; if it were 1780 one might say he was correct. I have a mention of Hannam in connection with the French series of seven degrees which may be submitted to the Lodge before very long.

In concluding may I be allowed to say that the task of preparing this paper on the Country Stewards at the request of the Lodge Committee gave me a deal of pleasure, both in the search for information and in preparing the narrative, and my hearers may be assured that the labour involved was undertaken with the intention "that profit and pleasure may be the result."

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# THE OLD CHARGES AND THE CHIEF MASTER MASON.

*BY BRO. J. E. S. TUCKETT, M.A. (Cantab.); P.M., No. 2076; P.A.G.Sw.B.*

THE earliest of all the manuscripts of the *Old Charges*, namely, the *Regius*, of late fourteenth century, contains no reference either to the King of Tyre or to the notable personage, Hiram the Master-Builder.

The next in seniority, the *Cooke MS.* (early fifteenth century), says:—

> "And ye Kyngis sone of Tyry was his (Solomon's) maist$^{r}$. masen";

and the text of the *Cooke MS.* is preserved in the *Plot Family*, for example, in the *Heade* (1675) and *Watson* (1687) *MSS.*

In all or nearly all the versions later than the *Cooke* there is a much fuller reference. Thus:—

*Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583).

> "And further more theare was a Kyng of another reigne that mē called Iram and he Loued well king Solomon and he gave him Tymber to his woorke and had A Soonne that height Aynone and he was a m$^{r}$. of geometrey and was cheife maist$^{r}$. of all his Massons and was m$^{r}$. of all his graving & Carving and all other mann$^{r}$. of massonrye that belongith to the Temple."

This paragraph occurs with but little change in nearly every copy of the *Old Constitutions* except those which are late versions of the *Cooke MS.*, those grouped as the *Plot Family*, and the comparatively late *MSS.* which give the name Hiram or Hiram Abif. The word 'named' is sometimes used instead of 'height' or 'called,' and there are many variations of the word 'Aynone.'

The *Lansdowne MS.* (*circa.* 1600 or early seventeenth century) has:—

> "a sonne that was called a Man that was Master of Geometry."

The *York MS. No. 1* (early seventeenth century) reads 'Amon,' and the *Wood MS.* (dated 1610) has 'Aymon.' The last-named has also, in the margin:—

> "Aymon Maister of the Masons, and of the Graveninge and Carving work belonging to the Temple";

and in an *Index*, which is a unique feature for these *MSS.*, "Aymon Maister of Geometrie." The next *MS.*, the *Thorp* (1629), gives 'Aynon.'

Thus we see that there are apparently two distinct forms of this word, namely, AMON and ANON, with varieties in the spelling of each. These may be called the M Form and N Form respectively.

M.

A Man, a man, Hyman, Aaman, Aymen, A(y)mon, Amnon.
*Lansdowne* and *York No. 1* (early seventeenth), *Wood* (1610), *Atcheson* (1666), *Beaumont* (1690), *Buchanan, Tew, Hope, York No. 5*, and *Hughan* (all late seventeenth), *Waistell* (1693), *York No. 4* (1693), *Strachan* (*c.* 1700), *Newcastle, Rawlinson, Phillips No. 3*, and *Coleraine-Bolt* (all early eighteenth).

N.

An(n)on, Aynon(e), Ainon, Hynon, Dynon, Ajuon (? Ajnon), Amnon. *G.L. No. 1* (1583), *Thorp* (1629), *Sloane No. 3848* (1646), *Sloane No. 3323* (1659), *Clerke* (1686), *G.L. No. 2*, *Harleian No. 1942*, *Bain*, *Harleian No. 2054*, *Phillips Nos. 1 and 2*, *Kilwinning*, *Beswicke-Royds*, *Dumfries No. 2*, *Ramsey*, *and York No. 2* (all late seventeenth), *Alnwick* (1701), *York No. 2* (1704), *Scarborough* (1705), *Papworth* (early eighteenth), *Haddon* (1723), *Levander-York* (*c.* 1740), *Rawlinson* (early eighteenth).

The *Stanley* and the *Carson* (both 1677) have 'Apleo,' the *Carmick* (1727) gives 'annas,' and the *Langdale* (late seventeenth) leaves a blank, thus: 'cald ———.'

Those who are familiar with Dr. Begemann's revised Classification of the texts of the *Old Charges* as shown in Bro. Vibert's Chart (*A.Q.C.* xxxiii., 32) will see that the M Form is the earlier or original one and that the N Form comes late in the table of descent.

Of those Masonic *MSS.* which have survived two only are earlier than 1583. By that date the Miracle Plays and Moralities which had for a long time been performed in English in various parts of the country were beginning to disappear, being finally suppressed by James I. Between 1583 and 1723 come some fifty or more *MSS.*

No one will doubt that it is really Hiram Abif who, in the passage quoted, is presented as the *Son* of the King of Tyre. This, in the original, probably meant no more than 'subject,' the King being 'father of his people.' Compare also the expression 'Sons of Belial.' It should also be noted that 'height,' 'called,' 'named,' need not necessarily imply more than 'styled' or 'acknowledged,' although the succeeding scribes very likely regarded the word 'Amon' (or its variant) as an actual *name*, and supposed the distinguished Craftsman to be the King's actual offspring. The question is how to account for the appearance of the *word* 'Amon,' or whatever it may be.

In the *Tew MS.*, which (although itself of late seventeenth), Dr. Begemann considers to be the closest approximation to the missing original of the recast Cooke Narrative of about 1520, the word is 'Hyman.' Bro. R. F. Gould, in his *Concise History*, suggests that this is simply a copyist's blunder for 'Hyram.' This to me seems incredible, and, even if the suggestion be seriously entertained, it must still be explained why very nearly all the later scribes adopted an error which at any time could easily have been set right by reference to the Bible in current use, and, further, why they produced so many and in some cases such startling variations in it. Another explanation is that proposed by Bro. G. W. Speth and others, namely, that the earliest versions (now missing) may have left a blank for the name, which Masonic caution would not permit to be committed to writing, and that subsequent copyists filled the blank with the word 'Anon,' meaning thereby 'anonymous.' The *Langdale MS.* (late seventeenth) actually has such a blank, thus 'cald ———.' This assumes that at least as early as the sixteenth century Hiram occupied an important place in Masonic Ceremonial, and it has been conjectured that the name Hiram or Hiram Abif then served as a pass-word. This may be true, but the theory that the scribe substituted 'Anon' (=anonymous) for the supposed blank space cannot be tolerated. In the first place, as we have seen, the M Form (Aman, Amon, Hyman, etc.) is the earlier one, and not the N Form. A second and more fatal objection is the fact that 'anonymous' is a late intruder into the English language, and is not to be met with until the first decade of the seventeenth century, and its use continued to be rare until long after that time. It does not occur anywhere in Shakespeare or the English Bible. Murray gives a somewhat doubtful reference as early as 1601. It does, however, appear in the Dictionary compiled by Phillips in 1658, and it was occasionally

used by the eminent naturalist Ray. As to the abbreviation 'anon,' with the meaning *anonymous*, that was a novelty a hundred years or more after the complete word had secured a footing in our language.

Although Bro. Gould and Bro. Speth failed to light upon a reasonable explanation of what *does* appear in the various *MSS.*, it is surely impossible to disagree with the latter when he claims that there is significance in that which *does not*, and that the absence of the *name* of the Master Craftsman is intentional. And if the omission is deliberate then we have already a very strong indication that the personage concerned played some important part in the Masonry of those who compiled the *MSS.* and those who used them.

The following sentence in a fraternal letter from Bro. Robert I. Clegg, the American Masonic historian:—"AMON in Hebrew means Artificer, "Architect, Master-Workman, as firm and sure in his workmanship. See the "Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon, the latest authority"—decided me to make the attempt to examine whether some or all of the M Forms may not be genuine words of Hebrew origin. Seven Hebrew-English Lexicons have been consulted, including the one mentioned by Bro. Clegg which issued from the Oxford Clarendon Press in 1896.

The Hebrew root אמן AMN=*to stand firm*. In a moral sense *to be true* or *faithful*. From this comes the substantive (really the infinitive active of the verb) אָמוֹן ĀMŌN, which occurs at *Proverbs* viii., 30, in the Revised Version, translated *a master workman*. It also occurs at *Song of Solomon* vii., 1-2, with a various reading אָמָן, אֳמָן, אָמָּן, ĀMĀN, °MĀN, OMMĀN, and here both the Authorised and Revised Versions render it *a cunning workman*. In each case the sense requires the idea of a reliable workman upon whom his superior or patron or employer can lean metaphorically. The Oxford Lexicon gives it at p. 54, col. 2. The Lexicons assign the following meanings:—*Artificer, architect, artist, a master-workman*, literally *one found faithful* or *skilful* in his business. Also אָמוֹן ĀMŌN occurs as a Hebrew Proper Name signifying *artificer*. And akin are the words אֲמָן ĀMĀN=*entrusted;* and אֵמוּן ĒMŪN (AYMUN)=*a faithful true one;* אָמֵן ĀMĒN=*truth, faithfulness.*

One day recently while in conversation with a gentleman of the Jewish Faith (not a Freemason) I asked him to tell me what Hebrew word would be used by a community of Jewish masons, employed together upon some important work, to designate the man who organised their labours, set their tasks, and generally acted as their chief. No mention was made of Freemasonry or of King Solomon's Temple. Without any hesitation he uttered a word which sounded like UMAN or UM'N, where the initial U resembled a *very short* double-O. When I asked him to spell it to me in Hebrew letters, he gave me *Aleph-Vau-Mem-Nun,* and wrote it down אומן. Shortly afterwards I put the same question to one of the Jewish Clergy in Bristol (not a Freemason), referring as an example of what I meant to the vast enterprise now in progress on the new Bristol University Buildings. He gave me the same word UM'N, *Aleph-Vau-Mem-Nun,* and wrote it down אומן. The correct sound seems to be represented by אוּמָן as nearly as possible. My second informant explained that the word does not necessarily mean 'Master-*Builder*,' but is a term of respect applicable to the head or chief of any community of men bound together by a common interest such as a trade or calling, the context supplying the clue to the particular trade or interest concerned. In short, the word means 'The Master,' 'The Head,' 'The Chief' (compare the expression 'The Boss.'). This form of the word refers back to the same root אמן AMN, but it does not occur in the Bible, and is not mentioned in the older Lexicons.

The Oxford Lexicon, however, gives it as a cognate later form of אָמָּן OMMĀN at p. 53 at foot of col. 1. It is quite common in Mischnaic, mediæval, and more modern Hebrew, and is quite familiar to those with whom Hebrew is still in a sense a spoken language.

It may be as well to explain that in Semitic languages generally the vowels are of very minor importance, and that this is especially true where a Hebrew word is presumed to have been passed down orally. In such case only the strong consonants would retain their original form, and these are sufficient to disclose the root form and so identify the meaning.

In eleven of the *Old Charges MSS.* the word is given as A(Y)MON, and in one it appears as AYMEN, which is only a very trifling variation probably due to careless copying or to a misconception of the sound. The *Lansdowne* 'a Man,' *Hughan* 'a man,' *Waistall* 'Aaman,' and *Tew* 'Hyman,' I claim as attempts to reproduce the form AMAN which appeared in some earlier original now missing. The *Rawlinson* has 'Amnon' which may be no more than a mistake for AMON. It should be noted, however, that אַמְנוֹן ĀMNŌN, or אֲמִינוֹן ᵃMINŌN (ĀMEENŌN), is the familiar Hebrew Proper Name AMNON which signifies *faithful* or *faithful one.*

The *Stanley* and *Carson MSS.*, both written in 1677,[1] present points of particular importance in connection with our present enquiry. Internal evidence proclaims that these *MSS.*, which are practically identical, are not originals but copies made from an earlier *MS.*, and the suggestion is that this was itself a copy made from a still earlier version and so backwards until at some time the *original Stanley text* was composed or compiled. The orignal Stanley text and the copies intermediate between it and the existing two *MSS.* of 1677 have disappeared, and we do not know the date of the original Stanley text, but it is a reasonable conjecture to place it at about the time of the recasting of the Cooke Narrative—*circa* 1520. In the *Stanley* and *Carson MSS.* of 1677 the passage with which we are concerned runs:—

> "And he had a Sonne named APLEO that was master of GEOMETRY."

Thus for the 'name' we have an entire change of word, for by no stretch of imagination can APLEO be supposed to have become evolved from AYMON or either of the other forms by any process of error in transcribing. The problem then is to find a Hebrew original for the word APLEO. There is a Hebrew-Arabic root אפל APL=*to disappear, vanish, depart,* and from this come a number of derivatives all connected with *darkness* (as in *Amos* v., 20) or in a metaphorical sense *adversity* or *misery.* אָפַל ĀPAL=*to set* (as the Sun). In one of the older Lexicons to one of the derivatives אָפִיל ĀPĪL

[1] These two *MSS.* mention:—'The Temple that is now called VOO.' The word VOO is possibly VOV, a Hebrew word meaning *nail* or *hook*, and if so the Masonic scribe who introduced it intended a reference to *Ezra.* ix., 8, rendered in the A.V. of 1611:—'. . . grace hath been shewed from the Lord our God . . . to give us a nail in his holy place.' There is a note in the margin to 'nail':—'or, *a pin*: that is, *a constant and sure abode.*' In the Hebrew original the word translated 'nail' is not VOV but יָתֵד YATHED which means *nail, peg,* or *pin.* In Hebrew there is a secondary metaphorical meaning or symbolism attaching to the 'nail,' namely 'a constant and sure abode' or 'a firm and secure dwelling place,' which 'symbolism' is fully explained in the *T. of S. Spiritualized* attributed to Bunyan. That YATHED possesses this secondary meaning is clear, but that VOV does is a point upon which Hebrew students differ. In any case it is a possibility that the Masonic scribe was aware of the 'symbolism' from the A.V. of 1611 and sought the Hebrew for 'nail'—not in the Hebrew Bible but in a Lexicon or by asking a friend—and thus obtained VOV instead of YATHED. The suggestion that VOO is an attempt to re-translate the Ezra 'nail' of the A.V. (1611) back into Hebrew is worth placing on record.

is assigned as an alternative meaning *concealed*, and this seemed to be a possible solution to our problem. But Bro. the Rev. Morris Rosenbaum rejects this root because its derivatives never carry the meaning *concealed* (except in one very doubtful instance at *Exodus* ix., 32), and in any case the word is very unsuitable as applied to a 'name' which is 'concealed' in the sense that it is not to be communicated to any except those duly qualified. At the same time Bro. Rosenbaum very kindly pointed out what is likely to be the root we seek, namely, פל PL., from which springs a series of derivatives פלא, הפליא, &c., all having to do with the meanings (1) *secret* and (2) *wonderful*. One of these is actually used in the Bible of a 'secret name,' *i.e.*, a name which is known but must not be divulged. It is פלאי PĔLĪ (PĔLEE), and occurs in *Judges* xiii., 18:—

"Why askest thou after my name, seeing it is secret."

Again in *Psalm* cxxxix., 6, we have פלאיה P<sup>e</sup>LEO (PĔ̆LEO or P'LEO):—

"Such knowledge is too wonderful (secret) for me."

The initial A in the *Stanley-Carson* word APLEO probably comes from the Hebrew prefix הַ or הָ HĀ, which is the definite article meaning *the*, and its use would in this case be specially appropriate if P'LEO be regarded as a common term applied by way of eminence to an individual—thus הפלאיה HAP'LEO. It is not a little remarkable that, in the only two Masonic *MSS.* where there is a marked departure from the form most commonly employed to designate the Master-Builder, and the word used cannot be derived from that form by any process of distortion due to a transcriber's careless copying but is a different word, this different word is found to be equally un-English in appearance, similarly obscure in import, and that for it also there is a possible Hebrew original bearing a meaning which is itself a statement of the reason why the true name is not given.

It may be asked if it is in any way likely that the Operatives who, in the early half of the sixteenth century, framed these Masonic manuscripts possessed such a knowledge (or indeed *any* knowledge) of the Hebrew language as would justify the theory of a Hebrew origin for the words which we are considering. But the hypothesis does not require that those worthy Brethren were learned Hebrew scholars, and the probabilities and indications are diametrically opposed to any such foolish idea. All that was necessary was that they should have had access to some person or persons, Jew or Gentile, competent to spell out a Hebrew text letter by letter and to supply isolated Hebrew words having particular meanings, and about this much there could have been little difficulty. At this very time the study of Hebrew was making headway in Europe generally. The entire Hebrew Bible was *printed* in 1488, and within a very brief period there were many editions. The first printed Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1503, and a year or two later came Reuchlin's Grammar and Lexicon, and the language was studied and taught in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge before the middle of the century. This was a period of upheaval in religious affairs, and it was just at this time that the spirit of enquiry into Biblical matters was springing up in the minds of laymen, and increasing curiosity concerning the contents of the Sacred Writings was accompanied by a growing demand on the part of the people generally to possess the Scriptures in the language they understood. By the Reforming Party the Roman Church was charged with having tampered with the text to serve her own ends, and Romish opposition to translation was construed as a proof of the truth of the accusation. Hence arose a prejudice against the Latin text of the Vulgate and a desire to appeal to the Hebrew original. It is true that the senseless and bitter

hatred of the Jews as a people continued and was as prevalent amongst those who favoured the new opinions as it was with those who clung to the old ones, but the persistent neglect of the history and teaching contained in the books of the Old Testament, which was a characteristic of the *pre*-Reformation Church, was exchanged for a vivid interest in and (one might reasonably say) an exaggerated estimate of its relative importance. As a result of this change of feeling Hebrew came to be popularly regarded as the language of our primitive parents before the Fall and even of God Himself. The close of the fifteenth century and dawn of the sixteenth witnessed the spread of the art of printing and with it a great revival of learning. In 1535 was issued the First Edition of Coverdale's Bible, the first printed complete Bible in English, and the extent to which this was based upon the earlier translation into German by Martin Luther and others is recognized and was indeed acknowledged by Coverdale himself in his Prologue addressed 'unto the Christian Reader.' One merit of Luther's translation which appealed to the Reformers was that it claimed to have been made from the Hebrew direct. A comparison of the *Cooke MS.* (early fifteenth century) with the *Regius* (late fourteenth century) reveals certain differences in religious outlook which leave no possible doubt that those who used the *Cooke MS.* were committed to the movement towards Reformation. So clear is this that Dr. Chetwode Crawley has suggested *The Lollard MS.* as a suitable alternative title for the *Cooke MS.* And starting with this manuscript we have King Solomon, the King of Tyre, and the Master-Builder associated with the Craft or Science of Freemasonry. In about 1520 there is a recasting of the Cooke Narrative necessitating the rewriting of Masonic manuscripts. It would be difficult to suggest a period more likely to have witnessed the first introduction of that Hebrew tinge which is certainly a characteristic feature of speculative Freemasonry (and which meets us at every turn) than the years just before and just following the date mentioned.

What has been said suggests that at some time before, but not very far removed from the middle of the sixteenth century there existed Masonic *MSS.* in which the paragraph we have been considering contained a title or description applied to that subject of the King of Tyre who was appointed by King Solomon to be his Master of Masons at the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. These titles or descriptions may originally have been written in the *MSS.* in Hebrew characters, but it is very much more likely that they were from the first attempted transliterations more or less accurately representing the sound of the Hebrew words in our characters. The Hebrew words were:—

AMON: AYMUN: OMMAN: UM'N: PLEO or HAPLEO:

The significations of these when conjoined tell that the person concerned, whose *name* is not mentioned, was:—

> A cunning master workman, entrusted, found true and faithful, THE MASTER, (whose name was the) Secret to be concealed *i.e.* not to be communicated (except to those qualified).

The next point to be considered is—what was the name so carefully suppressed? In *A.Q.C.*, vol xii., at p. 148, there is this remark by Bro. G. W. Speth: ". . . the name Abif, a name, be it remembered, which was not to be found "in the A.V. of the Bible then and since in current use, but only in much "earlier versions." By kind permission of the Rev. Prof. F. E. Robinson, the Librarian, I have been able to consult the almost unrivalled collection of early printed Bibles in the Library of the Bristol Baptist College, and so to obtain the exact words in the versions mentioned by Bro. Speth. In his valuable work *Masonic Words and Proper Names* (1910), at p. 16, Bro. Rosenbaum also gives a list of the Bibles which contain the 'name' Abif, but this was unknown to me until my own search was completed.

If those Masons who were already interested in 'Ye Kyngis Sone of Tyry' who was also King Solomon's 'maist^r-masen' (see the *Cooke MS.* of early fifteenth century) had turned to the Coverdale Bible of 1535 for further information concerning him, this is what they would have found:—

"Therefore sende I now a wyse man that hath understondynge euen Hiram Abie." II. Chronicles ii., 13.

". . . all their vessels made Hiram Abif of pure metall for Kynge Salomon unto the house of the LORDE." II. Chronicles iv., 16.

This was repeated in the second and third editions of 1537 and 1550. Two years after Coverdale, in 1537, came the First Edition of the Matthew Bible, the first printed by Royal License in England. The same verses run:—

"And now I haue sent a wyse mā & a mā of understandynge called Hirā Abi."

". . . all their vesselles dyd Hyram Abi make for Kynge Salomon for the house of the Lord."

So also in the second and third editions of 1538 and 1549.

In the year 1539 was printed the First Edition of the Taverner Bible where we find:—

"And now I have sent a wyse man and a man of understandynge called Hiram Abi."

". . . all their vessels dyd Hiram Abi make for Kyng Salomon for the house of the Lorde."

The second edition of 1551 has the same form. To Bro. Rosenbaum and Bro. W. J. Williams independently I owe the information that the First Edition of Luther's Bible, 1534, contained the 'name' in the form Huram Abif, and to Bro. Williams I am indebted for the very important fact that it continued thus in all German Bibles based upon Luther's down to the present day. In an edition dated 1813 the verses run:—

"So sende ich nun einen weisen Mann, der Verstand hat, Huram=Abif."

". . . alle ihre Gefäsze machte Huram=Abif dem Könige Salomo zum Hause des Herrn aus lauterm Erz."

There is no significance in the double-hyphen in 'Huram=Abif' and it is not a sign of equality. Throughout this German Bible a double-hyphen is used where we employ one, as, for example, where a word is divided at the end of a line.

It is evident that Luther and the English translators could make no sense of the Hebrew:— הוּרָם אָבִיו HURAM'ABHIV (ABIV or AVIV), so they concluded that 'ABIV was part of the *name*. But 'ABIV=*his father*. The Bible associated with the name of Cranmer and known as The Great Bible was first issued in the year 1539 and the correction was made in both places:—

"my father Hurā" (ii., 13.). "Hyrā (hys father)" (iv., 16.);

and in the third edition of 1540:—

"my father Huram" (ii., 13.). "Hiram (his father)" (iv., 16.).

Similarly in the First Edition of the Bishop's Bible, 1568:—

"my father Hiram" (ii., 13.). "Hiram his father" (iv., 16.).

So also in the popular Geneva Bible of 1560, the most widely read of all. In the Authorised Version of K. James I. of 1611, and in the Revised Version of 1885, the readings are:—

"of Huram my father's" (ii., 13.). "Huram his father" (iv., 16.).

An important point remains to be noticed, namely, that the frantic destruction of Bibles, which raged under Royal and Ecclesiastical authority during part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the whole of that of Mary (to 1558), conferred

upon *all* the editions of the Coverdale, Matthew, and Taverner Bibles the halo of extreme rarity. So that from 1551 the erroneous double name Hiram Abif (or Abi) disappeared entirely so far as the English Bible is concerned.

No edition of Josephus contains the double 'name,' nor do either the Septuagint or the Vulgate—the Septuagint has τὸν πατέρα ἐμοῦ, and the Vulgate *patrem meum*.

Thus we see that compilers or editors of Masonic *MSS.* at about the middle of the sixteenth century could have adopted the erroneous 'name' Hiram Abif or Hiram Abi from the Coverdale, Matthew, or Taverner Bibles at any time between 1535 and 1558. But the Masonic Brethren of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could have possessed no knowledge of the erroneous 'name' if the English Bibles generally available (*i.e.*, in common use) were their *only* source of information. During the period 1558 to 1723, so far as is known to the present writer, the erroneous 'name' occurs nowhere in print except only in the German Bibles based upon Luther's version. Nevertheless, in Dr. Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* of 1723, at p. 11, there is a long Note explaining 'Abif' and defending the view that it is really 'the Surname of Hiram the Mason.' The Note is really an attempt to account for the fact that a certain 'name' differs from what appears in the A.V. of the Bible. The *MSS.* of the Spencer Family give the name Hiram Abif, but as all (except possibly the *Inigo Jones MS.*) are *post*-1723 they do not concern our enquiry. The *Inigo Jones MS.*, dated 1607, from internal evidence cannot have been written until after 1655, and Bro. W. J. Hughan suggested 'say about 1680.' Those who hold that the Hiramic Legend was *first* introduced into Freemasonry in or shortly after the year 1723 naturally place the *Inigo Jones MS.* at *post*-1723 with the others of the Spencer Family, and they point to what is described as the 'sudden' appearance of the name 'Hiram Abif' in Dr. Anderson's Note as a 'proof' that their view is correct. But the appearance of the name in what was the very first official printed document ever issued by the Masonic Order is no more 'sudden' than is any other statement contained in the same publication. Dr. Anderson's Note affords the strongest presumptive evidence that something of paramount importance concerning the Master-Builder was already familiar to every Brother Freemason. At p. 27 Dr. Anderson says:—". . . though none since HIRAM ABIF "has been renown'd for *Cunning* in all parts of Masonry: And of this enough."

In the Authorised Version (1611) and Revised Version (1885) we read:—

> "And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my father's." II. *Chronicles* ii., 13.

> ". . . and all their instruments, did Huram his father make to King Solomon for the house of the Lord." II. *Chronicles* iv., 16.

The translation 'father' fails to convey the meaning intended. It is true that אָב does mean 'father,' but the Lexicon explains that it is used as a title of respect 'a head, chief, or ruler,' also 'adviser, counsellor.' It is found in *Genesis* xlv., 8, where Joseph is described as:—"a father to Pharaoh, and "lord of all his house, and ruler throughout all the land of Egypt." Thus אָב לְפַרְעֹה, *a father to Pharaoh*, means the Chief (or Master) of his ministers or *prime* minister. In the same way Hiram was Solomon's Chief (or Master) *of Masons*. The word אָב AB by itself does not indicate what particular service was rendered to the monarch, that being supplied from the context, just as the word אומן UM'N, THE MASTER, requires the context to explain the exact nature of the Mastership. The Hebrew original, therefore, implies that:—

> . . . all their instruments, did Huram, his (*i.e.*, King Solomon's) Master (Mason), make for King Solomon, for the house of the Lord.

This is in full accord with the paragraph in the *Old Charges* where he is styled 'm$^{r}$. of geometry,' 'cheife maist$^{r}$. of all his Massons,' and 'm$^{r}$. . . . of 'all . . . mann$^{r}$. of massonrye that belongith to the Temple.' But, as is the case with Hebrew Proper Names generally, the name Hiram also is capable of translation. It is an abbreviation of אֲחִירָם AHIRĀM which has the apprporiate meaning *Exalted Brother.* Thus the full erroneous 'name' HIRAM ABIF is really equivalent to or implies 'The Exalted Brother, Solomon's Master Mason.'

In and for some time before 1723 there were *two* Degrees in Masonry the Superior being "The Master's Part." According to the 'exposure' *A Mason's Examination*, which appeared in *The Flying Post or Post Master*, April, 1723, within a few weeks of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, during the ceremony a word was whispered to the Candidate who was placed in the correct attitude to receive it. And then the Candidate was made to say:—"I know "the Master's Part full well, As honest Maughbin will you tell." The expression "The Master's Part" occurs elsewhere and in *The Daily Journal* of August 15th, 1730, we are informed that:—"Note, there is not one Mason 'in an Hundred that will be at the Expence to pass the Master's Part, except "it be for Interest." Laurence Dermott in his 1764 *Ahiman Rezon* shows that he considered that he had reason to believe that "The Master's Part" existed *before* 1717, and that what was done at about that time concerned what he calls 'fragments of the old order.' Bro. G. W. Speth (*A.Q.C.* xi., 58) believed that "The Master's Part" meant, not simply the part concerning a master-mason, but the part concerning "none other than THE MASTER, *viz.*, "H.A." The title in itself being an indication that the Superior Degree (which existed before the important year 1723) included the Story of the Master-Builder.

The evidence available, therefore, seems to present itself as follows. The *Regius MS.* (late fourteenth), the earliest we have, betrays no tendency to side with the Reformation movement, and contains no reference to King Solomon, King Hiram, Hiram the Builder, or the Temple at Jerusalem. Between this and the appearance of the next *MS.*, the *Cooke* (early fifteenth), times have changed, Reformation is on its way and interest in the Old Testament narrative has been awakened by the Wycliffe translations of the Bible from the Latin of the Vulgate, which from about 1380 were widely circulated in manuscript amongst those favourable to the coming revolution. For various reasons the *Cooke MS.* is considered to be the work of men who were committed to the new doctrines, and in this document we are introduced to the Temple Legend. But as yet the reference to 'y$^{e}$ Kyngis Sone of Tyry' who was Solomon's 'maist$^{r}$. masen' is not more than a passing mention, and there is no hint of a name or title. At about 1520 the Cooke Narrative is revised, and we are assured by competent authority (Dr. Begemann) that the *Tew MS.* is the closest approximation to the original of the recast. In this the Master-Builder is called HYMAN, which, it is claimed, is not a corruption of HIRAM but one of what are herein called the 'M Forms' of a certain word or title. There is no Masonic *MS.* between the *Cooke* and the *Grand Lodge No. 1* (1583), but from 1534 to 1558 (death of Q. Mary) Bibles were available which assigned to the Master-Builder a certain double 'name' which is in reality not a name simply, but a name coupled with a title. This erroneous 'name' was thus made familiar to such of the laity as favoured the Reformation movement. The Bibles containing it were those of Luther (translated from the Hebrew direct), Coverdale (based on Luther chiefly), Matthew (based on Coverdale for the part with which we are concerned), and Taverner (based on Matthew), all of them deriving from the Hebrew and despising the Latin of the Vulgate associated with the Roman Church. The mistake perpetrated in the erroneous double 'name' is corrected in the *Great Bible* (1539), the *Geneva Bible* (1560), and the *Bishop's Bible* (1568), and never reappears in any later English Bible, or (until 1723) in any other English printed document. The erroneous 'name'

passes out of sight and remembrance generally amongst our countrymen so soon as the Bible-destroying frenzy has done its work, that is to say, after 1558. But it is the ABIF which is lost, the true name HIRAM continues in all the Bibles but is now associated with a too literal translation 'his (or my) father' for the word ABIF. The *Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583) and subsequent *MSS.* down to the early years of the eighteenth century give a much more detailed account of the Master-Builder, but in every case the erroneous double name is rigidly suppressed. In nearly every case no name at all is mentioned and for it a variety of words are substituted to describe the personage concerned. The earlier texts exhibit words (the M Forms) which are all found to have possible Hebrew originals with meanings strikingly in harmony with what we know as the Hiramic Legend. Some of the later texts exhibit words (the N Forms) which perpetuate an error of transcription (*n* for *m*) from the earlier (or M) Forms. One or two of the later *MSS.*, *e.g.*, the *Clapham* of late seventeenth century, give the true name HIRAM—which suggests that the scribe failing to attach any meaning to the substituted word or title replaced it by the true name which was supplied by the A.V. of the Bible in current use at the time. There is no ground whatever for suggesting that at any time before the *Spencer Family* of *MSS.* any text revealed the erroneous double 'name.' One *MS.* of the *Spencer Family*, the *Inigo Jones MS.*, is held by some students to be of about 1680, but the generally accepted opinion is that this *MS.* (like all the others of the *Spencer Family*) is *post*-1723. The *Inigo Jones MS.* discloses the erroneous double 'name,' and if it is really of 'about 1680' proves that that 'name' was in use in Freemasonry *before* 1723. In 1723 the first printed publication emanating officially from the Masonic Order divulges the erroneous double 'name' together with an elaborate defence of its correctness as an actual 'surname,' and an explanation of how it differs from that which occurs in all the Bibles in current use, and this is done with a clear indication that some mystery attaches to the person bearing the 'name.' What is practically a Reprint (Dublin, 1730) suppresses the defence and explanation and intensifies the atmosphere of mystery. And just at about the time (1723) Dr. Anderson is writing in terms of mystery about a person whose erroneous double 'name' he does not hesitate to print in full, the *Spencer Family MSS.* appear with the same 'name' in full also. It is a legitimate deduction from the above evidence that the 'name' so long deliberately concealed was HIRAM ABIF and its true signification:—'Hiram, the Exalted Brother, Solomon's Master Mason.' That it was in use amongst members of the Craft in mid-sixteenth century and was obtained from the earliest English Bibles when interest in and reverence for Old Testament History was at its maximum. That the 'name' served as a Masonic Secret and in writing was represented by a Hebrew title or description of appropriate meaning, Hebrew being specially venerated at that time. That he who bore the 'name' was of first rate importance in the Craft Legends from the time when (if not *before* the time when) it, the 'name,' was first introduced, and that the part he played therein was then substantially what it has been since 1723 and is now. That the erroneous 'name' can hardly have been known to the Craft in 1723 in any other way than by its having been handed down in Lodge working, for from about 1558 it was unknown except to Biblical experts and by them completely ignored. That in (or shortly before) 1723, and for some reason unknown, the erroneous double 'name' ceased to serve as a Masonic Secret not to be committed to writing, but its use in Lodge was retained and continued to designate the Master-Builder. At the time when there were but *two* Masonic Degrees the Superior one was called 'The Master's Part,' meaning thereby (so it may reasonably be claimed) 'The Part concerning The Master-Builder Hiram.' 'The Master's Part' is referred to in one of the pretended 'exposures,'' only a few weeks removed from the first *Book of Constitutions* of 1723, and clearly refers to the Hiramic Legend *as we know it*. Moreover, as regards *A Mason's Examination*, the 'exposure' referred to, Bro. R. F. Gould (*History* ii., 363) says:—' . . . (it) contains a reading which is several years 'older than the printed copy . . . the customs it attests must have reached

'back to a more remote date . . . its whole tenor betrays an *operative* 'origin.' Which, if correct, effectually disposes of the theory that a *new* Legend of the Master-Builder was introduced in 1723 or at any time later.

What so far is upheld in this Paper is the theory that the Hiramic *Legend* was drafted and took its place in Masonry at (about) the middle of the sixteenth century and that it was handed down in Lodge substantially unchanged until at some time unknown it assumed the form of 'The Master's Part.' This theory does not involve belief that it was communicated as part of a ceremonial or in dramatic style, *i.e.*, acted, no very clear evidence upon this point being available. It is, however, true that at mid-sixteenth century Miracle Plays, Interludes, and Moralities, acted in English, were very popular methods of imparting religious and moral instruction employed in all parts of the country. It is also true that *A Mason's Examination* is witness that 'The Master's Part' was accompanied by ceremonial to a certain extent. The former fact certainly makes it not unlikely that a dramatic setting for the Legend was chosen by those who framed it, and the latter fact shows that it was so presented for some unknown period before the year 1723. It may also be remarked that in the *publicly* performed Miracle Plays the Masons do not seem to have taken a share commensurate with their importance as a Gild. This would be natural if their greatest effort in that direction was kept secret.

Supposing that our Brethren of the sixteenth century did contemplate the composition of a Masonic Miracle Play it must be conceded that they had splendid material from which to pick and choose incidents suitable for their purpose. From amongst the many characters who are more or less concerned in the Legendary History in the *Cooke MS.* (early fifteenth) and *Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583) there are five who stand out prominently as likely to appeal to English Craftsmen. These are:—(1) Jabelle (or Jobelle), the discoverer of Masonry, who saved the Science from destruction in the Flood; (2) Hermes who recovered it after the Flood; (3) Hiram Abif who carried the Science from Tyre to Palestine for the building of King Solomon's Temple; (4) 'Naymus grecus' who carried it from Palestine to France; and (5) Saint Amphibalus who carried it from France into England. As to the last named it is true that the *Cooke MS.* simply tells us that 'seynet ad habelle' came to England and 'cõuertyd seynet Albon,' but the sentence which follows implies that he was a Mason and hence the Masonic enthusiasm shown by his pupil. It is from the *Heade MS.* (1675) and *Watson MS.* (1687) that we learn that 'Amphabell 'came out of France into England' and that 'he brought with him ye charges 'of Masons as they were in France & in other Lands.' These two *MSS.* are, however, pronounced to be recensions of a text as least as old as the *Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583). In Norman and earlier times a link connecting France and England is to be expected, but when the domains of the English King had come to include about one-half of what we now call France, the apparent importance of St. Amphibalus as a Masonic missionary would necessarily be sensibly diminished. Whether that be the reason or not St. Amphibalus makes but a transient appearance in our Legendary History. Of 'Naymus grecus' the *Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583) tells us:—(1) he was a 'Curious masson'; (2) he 'had byn at the making of Sallomon's Temple'; (3) 'he came 'into ffraunce and there he taught the Science of Massonrey to men of ffraunce'; and (4) Charles Martell 'drewe to this Naymus grecus and Learned of him the 'Crafte.'

There is a striking parallelism between Hiram Abif and 'Naymus grecus.' To neither of them is assigned the least degree of importance in the earlier *MS.*, the *Cooke* of early fifteenth, the latter not being mentioned at all and the former being given what is merely a passing reference. But in the next *MS.*, the *Grand Lodge No. 1* of 1583, to each of them is accorded a full description with a wealth of detail. Of each the true name is rigidly suppressed in this and subsequent *MSS.*, in the one case the person is alluded to by a word seemingly of Hebrew origin presented under many variations, and in the other by a disguise 'Naymus grecus,' also with many variations, which apparently labels

him 'the man with the Greek name.' No mystery was made of the identity of the former, and there is no reason to suppose that any was intended as to the identity of the latter, but, whether that be so or not, no one can now say with certainty who was the personage designated 'the man with the Greek name.' Between the two *MSS.* named (the *Cooke* and *Grand Lodge No. 1*) the Legendary History of the former was overhauled and, since in the process the two individuals emerge from profound obscurity into marked prominence, it is not an unreasonable deduction that during the interval these two worthies had acquired an inner significance which neither previously possessed. It has already been suggested that the Hiramic Legend *as we know it* took shape at this time. Possibly there grew up also a Legend concerning 'Naymus grecus,' comparable to the Hiramic Legend, and possibly his true name also was made to serve as a Masonic Secret not to be committed to writing, but if so Legend, true name, and identity have together passed into the limbo of oblivion. In the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723, p. 14, Dr. Anderson says:—'. . . and 'many Artists employed about it (*i.e.*, the Temple), under Hiram Abiff, after 'it was finished, dispers'd themselves into . . . Greece and other Parts of 'Europe where they taught this liberal Art,' but he does not mention 'Naymus grecus.' In the 1738 edition, however, we read at p. 16:—"Many of SOLOMON's '*Masons* before he died began to travel . . . And the old *Constitutions* 'affirm, that one call'd NINUS, who had been at the building of *Solomon's* '*Temple*, brought the refined Knowledge of the *Science* and the *Art* into *Germany* 'and *Gaul*'; and at p. 61 he says:—'CHARLES MARTEL, the Right 'Worshipful *Grand Master* of France (Father of King *Pippin*) who had been 'educated by Brother *Mimus Græcus*.' His silence in 1723 and these passing allusions in 1738 are in sharp contrast to the importance and air of secrecy which are the stamp of Anderson's repeated references to Hiram Abif in both editions, and it is evident that so far as he was aware no inner significance then attached to the name or personality of 'the man with the Greek 'name,' and that what is a mystery now was already a mystery when the first of all Grand Lodges came into existence.

The story of Lamech's Family and the Preservation of the Arts and Sciences is given in the *Cooke MS.* with a greater wealth of detail than in later *MSS.*, and much of it is not to be found either in *Genesis* or Josephus. The author quotes from Higden's *Polychronicon* and seems to have had access to the English translation by John de Trevisa completed in 1387, and also to the other English version now known as *Harleian MS. No. 2261* written 1432-1450. It is quite likely (although he does not mention it) that he had also seen the version of the Story of the Flood and the 'Stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon on which were to be read all the Arts and 'Sciences of the World' contained in the 13th, 92nd, and 97th of the *Welsh Triads* of the Third Series or *Triads of the Island of Britain*, which in their present form are pronounced 'not earlier than the fifteenth century.' The *Cooke MS.* is considered to be of West of England origin where, in the fifteenth century and earlier, the Welsh influence must have been more powerful than in other parts of the country. Canhebon, the 'Song-Utterer,' lived before the Flood, and is identified with Enos son of Seth, and his name is coupled with that of Hu Gadarn the first instructor in the arts of metallurgy and land cultivation. But as regards the making of the Stones or Pillars the *Cooke MS.* has outstanding features unknown to the other versions, namely:—(1) Jabelle (or Jobelle) Lamech's eldest son was 'the first mann that "euer found gemetry and masonry'; Jabelle was Master-Mason and 'goünor 'of alle his werkes whan he mede ye Cite Enoche that was the firste Cite that 'euer was made'; (3) it was *Lamech's* sons who 'had grete care' for the preservation of the Sciences that *they* had discovered; (4) Jabelle wrote out the records; and (5) Jabelle made the two pillars which preserved those records. The *Harleian MS.* and Trevisa both support the *Cooke* statement that the records were placed In, *i.e.*, inside, the Pillars, which were therefore made hollow and so remind us of a later pair which also served as receptacles for the archives of Masonry. Again as regards the survival and discovery of the two

pillars the *Cooke MS.* is sole authority for the story that Pythagoras found one and Hermes the other, for, in spite of the note 'as the polycronicon seythe,' the two English versions and the original Latin will be searched in vain for the passage. Trevisa and Josephus say that *one*, and the *Harleian MS.* says that *both*, of the pillars survived in Syria without any reference to the finder. Pythagoras (like St. Amphibalus) disappears in the *Grand Lodge MS. No. 1* (1583) but Hermes (with variations in his name) persists in later *MSS.* as the agent in the recovery of the 'archives' which were in due time again to be deposited for safe keeping in the interior of another pair of hollow Pillars associated with a later link in the chain of MASTERS in Masonry.

The *Thistle MS.* (1756) furnishes evidence that in the early years of the Grand Lodge era of Freemasonry there was still some tradition of a *ritual*-connection between the *ante*-diluvian and the *post*-diluvian pairs of Pillars. Bro. Herbert Poole, in his Paper on this *MS.* (*A.Q.C.* xxxv., 56) draws special attention to the 1756 scribe's reluctance to write certain words in full and his omission of all reference to Hiram and K.S.T. Amongst these reticences is the reference to the two earlier pillars, thus:—'therefore they engraved them upon '2 p——— &c.,' 'Hermorian . . . found the afforsaid p——— &c.' Bro. Poole remarks that this rather implies that the later pillars are 'descended ritually' from the original pair which 'played a more important part than we 'have imagined in the early ritual and that the story of *their* loss has perhaps 'had some share in the selection of our third degree legend.' A further indication that there was formerly a *ritual*-significance in the Story of Lamech's Family is the survival of a certain pass-word, for its selection, otherwise difficult or impossible to understand, would then be explained. Another pass-word is perhaps accounted for by the fact that in the original Hebrew in the Bible it occurs in the same sentence with the degree-word to which it is attached. It is sometimes stated that the pass-words are a late Continental addition to Masonry, but the French work of 1742 generally quoted to prove this theory does not necessarily imply any such thing, but rather that they had dropped out of general use over there. If these two pass-words are really a Continental gloss of 1742, how came they to cross the English Channel and find a home with us? But that the idea is a mistaken one is made clear by the fact that in the French work cited these two pass-words are in the closest association with a third word, also known to us, and concerning that one we have documentary proof of its use in Masonic ritual in England before even the Grand Lodge existed, namely, in 1713-4. This proof is found in the well-known inscription on the *Stanley MS.* (see *A.Q.C.* i., 128). There is also proof of a similar use in *The Grand Mystery* first published in 1724, and it is mentioned, though not as if it possessed any special significance, in the *Book of Constitutions* in 1723 and 1738. Bro. Rosenbaum has pointed out that the meanings attached to all three of these pass-words for Masonic purposes could have been found in or derived from the marginal notes in the First Edition of the popular Geneva Bible which was printed in the year 1560. The meanings could also have been taken from later editions of the Geneva Bible or from editions of the Authorised Version of 1649, 1679, 1708, and 1715, in which the same notes are given, but the fact remains that those meanings were available at about mid-sixteenth century.

While agreeing that there is much to justify the opinion that our ancient Brethren had a grand opportunity and abundant material ready to hand, it must also be admitted that, unless further and direct evidence be forthcoming upon which to base judgment, the theory of the existence of a secret Masonic Miracle Play in the middle of the sixteenth century can only be regarded as an interesting and plausible conjecture.

We may rest assured that Bro. Laurence Dermott, a shrewd and capable judge, who was in London from 1746 or a little later, would lose no opportunity of getting accurate information concerning the rival section of the Masonic body. His opinion of the Freemasonry of the Moderns (Grand Lodge of 1717) is recorded at great length in his 1764 edition of *Ahiman Rezon.* After claiming that the Ancients possessed *everything* that the Moderns had 'as well as many

'other things that cannot be revealed without additional ceremonies,' he goes on to explain that a 'person made in the modern manner' is not a true Free and Accepted Mason *because he is 'unqualified to appear in a master's lodge, 'according to the universal system of masonry.'* From which we see clearly that Dermott's objection was to the Modern Grand Lodge version of The Master's Part, and that he had no serious complaint to make as to the two inferior degrees. His account of what happened to The Master's Part at 'about the year 1717' under the auspices of the 1717 Grand Lodge is too long to reproduce in full here. He tells us that at a meeting (of Moderns) the question of The Master's Part came up for discussion, and that it was decided that 'the deficiency should be made up with a new composition and what frag- 'ments of the old order found amongst them should be immediately reformed 'and made more pliable.' The remarks which follow are in sarcastic vein, but their meaning is clear, namely, that the Moderns were so eager to get to the pleasures of the Dinner Table and to commence experiments with knife, fork, bottle, and glass, that they would not tolerate the study of 'Geometry' in too lengthy a ceremonial in Lodge. Also that the cuts were so drastic that the 'oldest members' could only by the aprons recognise that the proceedings were Masonic at all. His contention is that the Grand Lodge of 1717 had ruined the 'old order' of The Master's Part by the omission of important matters associated with it. In 1778 he speaks more plainly: 'instead of a *revival*, a 'discontinuance of Ancient Masonry took place amongst those who recognised 'the Grand Lodge of 1717.' Our lamented Bro. W. B. Hextall, whose views about the development of the degrees of pure and ancient Masonry were some-what unusual, upon one occasion (see *A.Q.C.* xxxii., 45) remarked:—'Personally 'I continue to regard any addition to the legend of the Third Degree as 'affording strong proof of its un-authenticity . . . we should assume that 'any selection of material (if such were made) at the Revival would be deliberate 'and advised, as it may also have been exhaustive.' The concluding clause is somewhat obscure, but, if Laurence Dermott is to be trusted, it is not a question of what was *added* to the Hiramic Legend subsequently to 1717-23, but what was *dissociated* from it at that time.

One is tempted to suggest that what was then discarded was a prelude or introduction to the Hiramic Legend telling the Story of Lamech's Family, the Discovery of Geometry 'which is Masonry,' the ante-diluvian Pillars, the temporary Loss of the Archives at the Flood, and their subsequent Recovery. This would have been a fitting preliminary to the Story of the MASTER-BUILDER, which is itself the Story of a Loss and Recovery, and particularly so if (as some of us believe) the Story of the MASTER-BUILDER at that time led *immediately* to the communication of the essentials of what we know as the Holy Royal Arch, the whole forming a Type or Emblem of another and infinitely greater Loss and Recovery.

# EARLY RECORDS OF THE ROYAL ARCH IN IRELAND.

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*BY BRO. WILLIAM TAIT.*

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THE earliest printed references to the Royal Arch are to be found in Ireland, viz., the account of a St. John's Day procession on December 27th, 1743, by Lodge No. 21, Youghall, Co. Cork, where "the Royall Arch was carried by two Excellent Masons" (*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, January, 1743/4), and the well-known references to the Royal Arch in Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present decay of Free Masonry in Ireland*, Dublin, 1744.

As regards written evidence, or Minutes of the Royal Arch, that of the Lodge at Fredericksburg, Virginia, dated December 22nd, 1753, was long considered the oldest in existence until the year 1910, when Bros. Powell and Littleton discovered a Minute of the Grand Committee of the G.L. of the "Antients," England, dated 2nd September, 1752 (*Hist. of F.M. in Bristol*, p. 640).

An earlier Minute referring to the R.A. has now been discovered in Ireland, dated April 16th, 1752, of which a photographic reproduction is appended. This entry occurs in the Minute Book (No. 1) of Lodge No. 123, Coleraine, County Derry, Ireland, and reads as follows:—

> [1752]
>
> April 16th.—At this Lodge Bro$^{r}$. Tho$^{s}$. Blair propos'd Samson Moore a Master & Royal Arch Mason to be admitted a member of our Lodge.

The Warrant for No. 123, Coleraine, was granted by the G.L. of Ireland on May 8th, 1741, to W$^{m}$. Kinkead, gent., Alex$^{r}$. M$^{c}$Kachan, gent., & Dom$^{k}$. Heyland, gent. Sixty-three members were admitted between 1741 and 1780. The last Minute recorded is dated February 18th, 1783.

Another old Minute Book of this Lodge (1763-1783) contains a Register of Members dated June 8th, 1767, recording the dates of their admission to the Lodge, and adding the dates on which several of the members received the R.A. degree. (See photographic reproductions.)

The earliest date of a R.A. reception is March 11th, 1745, and the latest June 25th, 1765. There are no records in the Minutes of the R.A. being conferred on any of the members mentioned in this List, and there is only one other instance in these Minutes where the R.A. is mentioned, viz.:—

> 1760 Jany. 14th.—B$^{r}$. Armstrong requests the favour of the Lodge to admitt him a Royal Arch Mason.

Captn. Edmund Armstrong was balloted for and admitted on December 6th, 1759 and received the E.A. degree on the same night. On December 27th, 1759, he was "made a fellow craft and Master Mason," and elected to the office of Junr. Warden on the same date. He never occupied the positions of S.W. or W.M. in this Lodge, and his request on January 14th, 1760, to be admitted a R.A. Mason was not granted until June 25th. 1765, as may be gathered by referring to the List of June 8th, 1767.

The early Minutes of the Lodge, from 1741 to 1749, are missing so it is impossible to state if the recipients of the R.A. degree between the years 1745 and 1746 were Actual Past Masters or no. In the case of No. 14 on the List —John Holmes—we find he received the R.A. two weeks after his admission to the Lodge, and according to the Minutes he was not elected to the Chair until December 27th, 1754. No. 17—Rev[d]. W[m]. Bristow—received his E.A. degree on October 6th, 1757, F.C. and M.M. on November 3rd, 1757, and was elected W.M. on June 25th, 1759. From the List we find he received the R.A. degree on December 31st, 1759, immediately following the termination of his occupation of the Chair. At this date the Master and Wardens were elected on St. John's Days—June 24th and December 27th—for a period of six months only. We cannot, therefore, positively state that all the members recorded on the List as having received the R.A. degree were Actual Past Masters of this or any other Lodge.

No evidence can be adduced from the Minutes as to the ceremonies used in exalting members to the R.A., nor do we find anything about the titles of the officers. The Excellent and Super Excellent steps are not mentioned. If a separate Royal Arch Minute Book existed it has not come down to us.

It will be apparent to all students of Royal Arch origins that these written records are of the utmost importance, as they bring us within measurable distance of the earliest printed references to the degree and show that even at this early date the Royal Arch must have been widely spread when we find it practised in places so far apart as York and Virginia—London and Stirling—Youghall in the South and Coleraine in the North of Ireland.

Belfast, 25. April, 1925.



# REVIEWS.

## NEW—REVISED—ENLARGED. MACKEY'S HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.

*By Robert Ingham Clegg, 33°; with the co-operation of many eminent authorities including William James Hughan . . . The Masonic History Company. Chicago, New York, London.*

THE quarter-of-a-century since the publication in 1898 of the monumental American History of Freemasonry by Dr. Albert Gallatin Mackey has been a period of great progress in all branches of Masonic research. Not only have new discoveries enlarged the sum total of actual evidence available, but competent investigators in increasing numbers in many countries have been willing to dedicate a portion of their time and abilities to the study of what is now generally recognised to be a section of the Science of Archæology. It is also a fact that the period in question includes the years of the best work of some of the greatest of Masonic students, who have now passed hence leaving us the inheritors of the fruits of their industry. At one time Masonic writers on this side of the Atlantic were wont to quote 'Mackey, *History*' as an authority in conjunction with our own 'Gould, *History*,' but of late years such references have been few and far between, and a generation has arisen which knows not Mackey. For some years it has been very evident that, unless the work could be brought into line with recent research, Mackey's *History* must resign itself to an honourable position on the shelf marked 'Obsolete.' Happily this fate has been escaped, and a New, Revised, and Enlarged edition is now available, and will be warmly welcomed by Masonic students throughout the world. Let it be clearly understood that this is no mere *Reprint*. The words at the head of the Title-Page are absolutely justified, the work has been greatly Enlarged, it has been thoroughly and ably Revised, and it has been so extensively Re-written as to be in effect a New work. This gigantic task has been well and worthily carried out by the accomplished American Historian Bro. Robert Ingham Clegg, of Cleveland, Ohio, and, in justice to our energetic colleague, care should be taken to refer to the new edition as 'Mackey-Clegg, *History*.' Yet, in a sense, the book is still the familiar 'Mackey' of 1898, for Bro. Clegg has kept strictly to the plan and method of the original, and wherever possible has retained the arguments and conclusions of its author. Dr. Mackey's attitude towards Masonic Legend and Tradition was that these generally contain the 'germs of a historical record,' sometimes mingled with a 'symbolical idea,' and that they merit the sympathetic attention of the scientific historian because when 'stripped of the worthless husks' a 'kernel' of value is likely to remain. This is evidently the opinion which commends itself to Bro. Clegg, and, while it will be found that every effort has been made to divest the Legends of the Craft of the false values set up by blind belief, there is also a resolute determination to protect them from the equally false estimate which excessive scepticism is apt to pronounce *ex cathedra*.

The book has been issued by the Masonic History Company of Chicago in a manner worthy of a great History designed to be the standard work of reference in its subject in a great nation, and as such to be used by students wheresoever dispersed. The paper, the type, the specially designed initials, the quality of the binding and its artistic beauty and fitness, are all alike excellent,

and render the seven handsome volumes a desirable addition even to those collections which are not intended for actual use by readers. The numerous plates and illustrations are exceedingly fine, and some of them of real permanent value as records. In 2,375 pages only some dozen misprints have been noticed, none of them of any importance. An excellent General Index of seventy pages affords every assistance to the student.

The first two volumes are mainly occupied with 'The Legend of the Craft' and the various theories concerning the Origin and development of the Masonic Order. After a general account of the *Old Charges MSS.*, each separate portion of the Craft Legend is treated in detail in a special chapter to itself, the object being to show to what extent the Legend contains points of historical or symbolical importance to free it from what otherwise might be regarded as its absurdity. The chapter devoted to K.S.T. and that on the York Legend and the Assembly are specially interesting, the latter presenting a novel and ingenious solution to the Prince Edwin difficulty. There is a slight error on pp. 13 and 16, where the holocaust of manuscripts recorded by Anderson is stated to have taken place in 1719 instead of 1720. The Origin theories are the occasion of a series of lucid essays in which the arguments, for and against, are placed before the reader with strict impartiality. These chapters afford delightful reading, and the conclusions reached are generally such as will win assent, although the reader may not be prepared to acquiesce in all the statements made by the way. It is somewhat surprising to find no mention of John Cleland's *Real Secret of the Free Masons* in the account of the Druid theory, and it seems that too much is made of the Chev. Ramsay's alleged share in inventing Additional Degrees. At p. 263 speculations are presented as Hutchinson's own which that worthy might have found in earlier Continental writings, *e.g.*, the well known work (1768) associated with the name of Berage. Is it a matter of *certainty* that there was no Hiramic Tragedy in Freemasonry before 1717, as is implied on p. 304? The reference to GNOSTICKS in the pamphlet *Two Letters to a Friend* (1725) can hardly be regarded as a serious claim to a Gnostic origin for Freemasonry (p. 395), being more probably a facetious hit at the religious innovation in Charge I. of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions.*. The well-known story of the discovery at the preparing of the ground for the foundations at the attempted rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem under Julian the Apostate is represented as the work of Nicephorus Callistus: 'he tells the following fable, but of whose traditional character the monk has not the slightest notion' (p. 423). Nicephorus took the story direct from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius of Cappadocia, written some twenty-five to thirty years after the alleged event. A particularly interesting and valuable chapter is the one (xliii.) devoted to the Legend of the Master Builder Hiram Abif, which concludes thus:—

> When we view the whole Legend as a myth intended to give expression to a symbolic idea, we may be content to call him an architect, the first of Freemasons, and the chief Builder of the Temple; but as students of history we can know nothing of him and admit nothing concerning him that is not supported by authentic and undisputed authority (p. 457).

With reference to the meaning assigned to the name of the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron, Hemming and Oliver are likely to have obtained their 'false symbolism of "worldly possessions"' (p. 448) from the marginal notes to the Geneva Bible (1560) or the 1649, 1679, 1708, or 1715, editions of the Authorised Version which reproduced those notes. The first part concludes at the middle of the second volume with a critical examination of the credentials of the *Leland-Locke MS.*

The late Bro. Mackey favoured the Roman Colleges theory of origin, and Bro. Clegg considers that his predecessor's conclusions have been upheld by later research, but he is inclined to regard the Craft as indebted to *several* sources, rather than to any one exclusively, however likely that may appear to be in

appeal or promise. The second division of the work commences with a scholarly account of the Roman Collegia, at home and in the Provinces, running through several chapters, and leading to interesting essays on the Anglo-Saxon and Early English Masonic Guilds, the London City Companies and the Masons' Company in particular. We then come to the 'General Assemblies and Lodges of Mediæval Freemasons' and (a little later) accounts of Early Freemasonry in Scotland (*Query!* Why not also in Ireland?), the French Guilds, the Comacini, German Stonemasons, Gothic Architecture, and Masons' Marks with a digression on the Mark Degree.

In an earlier chapter the author expresses the opinion (p. 308) that during the life of James II. Freemasonry was known in England only as a Guild of Operatives into which a few non-Masons had been admitted 'through courtesy.' In chapter lvi. he develops what is an unusual view of the status of these 'Honorary members.' The idea is that there were two kinds of 'Acception':—

> The first acceptation into the lodge, which was also called "making a Mason," and the second acceptation into the full fellowship of the Society or Company, which was to be done only on the production of a certificate of the time and place when the first acceptance or initiation occurred (p. 651).

> . . . in the middle of the 17th century non-professional persons were admitted as honorary or associate members into the fraternity. The Speculative element, as we now have it, was of course not then introduced, but the Craft did not consist altogether of working Freemasons (p. 653).

It is necessary to enquire what the author means by the word 'Speculative.' This he explains at a later stage:—

> The title of Speculative Freemasons was a term of later coinage, though it is met with, apparently with the same meaning, in one of the oldest records, the Cooke manuscript (p 926).

Concerning the passage in the *Cooke MS.* Bro. Clegg says:—

> . . . . the word appears to have been used in the sense given to it at the present day (p. 891);

and he then quotes from the 2nd ed. of Preston's *Illustrations*:—

> By the latter (Speculative Masonry) we learn to subdue the passions, act upon the square, keep a tongue of good report, maintain secrecy, and practice charity (p. 892).

This is no doubt more or less the meaning attaching to the word at the present day, but emphatically it was *not* the sense in which the word was used in the *Cooke MS.* in the early fifteenth century. There 'Speculatyfe' meant the theoretical principles of the science of geometry and the art of building with stone and mortar, and by 'practyke' was meant the application of those principles to works of actual construction. Of course, Speculative Freemasonry (in Preston's and the present-day sense) may have existed in the early fifteenth century, but the passage in the *Cooke MS.* is no indication that it did.

However, Bro. Clegg says that 'non-professional' persons were admitted as Honorary or associate members in the middle of the seventeenth century, and that the 'Speculative element' was not then introduced. The procedure in such cases is illustrated by the case of Elias Ashmole. At his initiation at Warrington in 1646 there were seven persons present besides the two candidates. Three of these are described in the Diary as 'Mr.,' and of the others Bro. Clegg remarks that those:—

> who are recorded without the prefix "Mr.," were only workmen "of the trade of Free Masonry" (p. 654).

> . . . though a Freemason by virtue of his acceptance or making at Warrington, Ashmole was not admitted to the fellowship of the Craft, he was not "free of the Company," was not entitled to an entrance into any of its lodges or assemblies, nor could he take part in any of the proceedings of the fraternity . . . Thirty-five years afterwards . . . Ashmole did what he had neglected to do before, and perfected his relationship to the Craft . . . in 1682 he was summoned to the fellowship of the Society at a meeting in London (p. 657).

But the researches of Bro. W. H. Rylands tend to prove that *none* of the persons present were Operative or professional Masons. And the 1682 entry in Ashmole's Diary does not warrant the statement that he was 'admitted' to the 'Fellowship' on that evening. On the contrary, he makes special note that of all the 'Fellowes' present, nine in number 'beside my selfe' not including the six new ones, he was (not simply the Senior but) the Senior *Fellow*. The Diary entries and the reference to '35 yeares' show that what Ashmole received at Warrington in 1646 placed him at the top of the list at London in 1682.

It is true that opinions vary as to the non-professional Brethren and the part they played in the Craft in the centuries before 1717, and it is by no means clear what is Bro. Clegg's own view. The extract from p. 653 given above implies that the 'Speculative element' was introduced *later* than the middle of the seventeenth century, yet at p. 894 he tells us that Speculative Freemasons formed one class of the Fraternity from the very earliest period of its history, also that, although at first they must have been few in numbers (p. 895), they could never have been an insignificant element (p. 895) and were eligible to vote, share in the deliberations, and take office (p. 894). Thus Bro. Clegg holds that there were Speculative *Freemasons*, but apparently he considers that there was no Speculative *Freemasonry*:—

> for many years previous to 1717 the Operative Lodges contained many non-Operative or Gentlemen Masons . . . Yet during all that period we have no record of any attempt on the part of the latter to infuse a Speculative element into those Lodges (p. 898).
>
> The admission of these Theoretic Craftsmen into the Fraternity did not, therefore, in the slightest degree affect the Operative character of the Order . . . (p. 945).
>
> . . . from the practice of an Operative art to the pursuit of a Speculative science . . . Nothing of the kind had been known (p. 946).

So that, unless there were Speculative Lodges (quite separate and distinct from the Operative Lodges)—and Bro. Clegg gives no hint of any belief that such existed—in which to work it, Speculative *Freemasonry* did not exist in *pre*-G.L. times.

Bro. Clegg, dealing with the causes of the transition from Operative to Speculative, says that the change 'was not a spontaneous and sudden act, commencing and completing itself by an instantaneous movement.' 'On the contrary,' he says, 'the epoch of the change can not be precisely determined within the period of six years at least during which the Speculative Freemasons were engaged in slowly perfecting it' (p. 897). Nevertheless, in effect, his theory is one of *abrupt change*. This is best seen by quoting his own words:—

> The founders of Speculative Freemasonry, who in the year 1717 withdrew from the Operative branch . . . and formed the Grand Lodge (p. 828).
>
> led between the years 1717 and 1723 to the complete separation of the speculative from the Operative Order, and to the birth of that system which . . . present day (p. 899).

> In 1716, when the resolve was first made to separate Speculative from Operative Freemasonry, and in 1717, when that resolve was carried into effect by the organization of the Grand Lodge . . . (p. 908).
>
> But the Society which in 1716 seceded or separated from the Operative Lodges of London, and in less than a year after organized the Grand Lodge . . . (p. 917).
>
> They planned that in the new organization the fraternal spirit should remain as the bond of union, and the doctrines of symbolism, hitherto practically applied to the art of architecture, should be in the future directed to the illustration of the science of morality (p. 929).
>
> the Theoretic element . . . of the four Lodges then existing in London resolved to change the character of these Lodges and to withdraw them entirely from any connection with Operative or Practical Freemasonry (p. 930).
>
> when the Theoretic members of the London Lodges left the Operatives in 1717 and formed the Speculative system . . . (p. 949).

The effect was, it is claimed, to divert Operative Lodges from the practice of an Operative art to the pursuit of a Speculative Science, and:—

> Such change could not be called a Revival, if we respect the meaning of that word. Nothing of the kind had been known; and when the members of the Lodges ceased to pay attention to the Craft or mystery of practical Stonemasonry, and resolved to treat it thenceforth in a purely symbolic sense, this act could be but a new departure in the career of Freemasonry. The ship was still there, but the object of the voyage had been changed (p. 946).

According to this theory the Revival was an abrupt and fundamental change, a curious kind of 'Resurrection' in which the Body survived and the Spirit perished, another and distinct Spirit taking its place. It is in no way to be preferred to the simpler explanation that at least from mediæval times the Operative Craft possessed a Speculative (in the modern sense) science, in a primitive and undeveloped state and not necessarily in the form of Ceremonial Degrees, and that, while the Operative part has passed away, the Speculative part has survived. The early years after the Revival, naturally witnessed considerable embellishment and amplification, involving new methods of communication, as fully described by Bro. Clegg. It seems to the present writer that what is otherwise a masterly presentation of an important branch of his subject—the advent of Grand Lodge—is weakened by the author's theory concerning Honorary members and an abrupt change in the 'object of the voyage.'

Bro. Clegg holds that for at least three years after the Revival there was but one esoteric form of admission, and that then a Second Degree was arranged by dividing the single ceremony into two parts, but with certain additions. Later again, he thinks, there was a further separation whereby a portion of the recently formed F.C. Degree was transferred to an additional Third Degree, a new creation 'intended to develop the religious and philosophic sentiment in Speculative Freemasonry' (p. 1066). But he evidently regards it as a possibility that the *new* Third Degree was in substance decidedly *old*, a survival from the Guild Miracle Plays (p. 1068). It is rather startling to find that the well known passage in Art. xiii. in the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* is discussed as if 'Masters and Fellow-Craft' there referred to two separate Degrees (p. 1041). A comparison with the entry in G.L. Minutes (27 Nov., 1725) and with Anderson's own account in the 1738 edition shows clearly that in 1723 'Master' and 'Fellow-Craft' were alternative titles for one and the same Degree, then the highest, which was also known as 'The Master's Part.' And it is a matter of opinion whether Laurence Dermott can be claimed as a witness that there was no Master's Part until after 1717, for the oft-quoted paragraph in *Ahiman Rezon*

of 1764 clearly shows that he himself believed that there was 'an old order' upon which in 1717 the 'joyous companions' had founded their 'new composition' (p. 1065).

To the 'G.L. of ALL England' at York and its daughter 'South of the Trent,' the G.L. of Scotland, the Union of 1813, the 'Introduction of Freemasonry into North America, and the interesting subject of Early G.L. Warrants, are devoted chapters full of information, but, at this point, one misses a similar detailed account of the rise of the G.L. of Ireland. In the story of the G.L. Antients, although the researches of Bro. Henry Sadler are acknowledged and his conclusions endorsed, frequent allusions to 'unruly Brethren,' 'insurgents,' 'irregular Lodges,' and even 'secession' and 'schism,' obscure and weaken the argument. Three chapters tell the story of Speculative Freemasonry in France, but that its introduction in 1725 (or earlier) was carried out *under the auspices of the 1717 Grand Lodge at London* is a fallacy, which has been the cause of most of that 'confusion' in the Masonic History of that country during the eighteenth century so constantly deplored by English Masonic writers.

The fourth volume concludes with a lengthy essay on the Origin of the Royal Arch, the theory favoured being that the inevitable Ramsay, or some other person following him, invented a Rite which included the Degree of Ecossais or Scottish Master (next above the M.M.) which contained the idea of the Recovery of that which was Lost, and that this suggested to the English Masonic mind the symbolism of the Recovered Word:—

> The English Freemasons accepted the suggestions as to the necessity of expanding the Third Degree or Master's part. They adopted the Word which indeed it said had always existed in the original ritual of the Third Degree; but they transferred its allusion from the Third to a Fourth Degree; and they wholly rejected the old (Ecossais) Legend, making a new one for themselves for which there is some reason for believing that they were partly indebted to a Talmudic or Rabbinical Tradition. They also declined to adopt the old (Ecossais) names . . . and took that of Royal Arch (p. 1353).

> We may consider it as a well-settled fact in history that the Royal Arch degree was not known in England before the year 1738, at which time it was practiced by certain Brethren who afterward assumed the name of "Antient Masons." The degree then conferred was suggested by and founded on the Ecossais (p. 1359).

There may be many students who share this belief, but the date 1738 and the ascription to the 'unruly Brethren' need revision in the light of the evidence that two gentlemen were 'made chapters' in December, 1734, by Dr. Desaguliers while on a visit to the Duke of Montague at Ditton. There is also the reference to Desaguliers and the Fifth Order and the discovery of a Word in the *Verus Commodus* letter in *The Grand Mystery*, 1725, to be considered. The French work of date 1745 alluded to by Oliver was not the *Recueil Precieux* of Louis Guillemain de St. Victor, which was published at Paris in 1781 (p. 1,343), but *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi, et le Secret des Mopses révélé.* Amsterdam. MDCCXLV., attributed to Pérau, Ramsay's *Oration* was first published, not in 1741 in the *Almanach des Cocus*, but in 1739 in the volume of *Lettres Philosophiques* of Voltaire issued at the Hague.

The remaining volumes contain the History of Freemasonry and Allied Orders (some of them of purely American interest) in the United States, and describe the rise and progress of the various Grand Lodges and other ruling bodies in the separate States. There are also a General History of Christian Knighthood, an account of the development of the A. & A.S. Rite out of the older Rite of Perfection, and a History of the Royal Order of Scotland. Concerning this portion of the work it is only necessary to say that students will gladly avail themselves of its help and will soon find that they may do so with confidence.

If much here written has been of the nature of fault finding it must also be clear how little serious fault there is to find. The new Mackey-Clegg *History* is a valuable contribution to Masonic Literature, carried out in the true spirit of scientific research. Even when he is developing a *theory*, with which his reader may or may not agree, the author is ever careful to produce the *evidence* and to make clear where a narrative of fact gives place to speculation and hypothesis. In my opinion, Bro. Robert Clegg's effort takes a place in the front rank of Masonic Books of Reference.

J. E. SHUM TUCKETT.

January, 1925.

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## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RITUAL AUTHORISED AND PRESCRIBED BY THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

*By G. J. V. Rankin, P.G.D.; with a Foreword of the Rt. Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Pro Grand Master.*

*Price two shillings.*

Such is the title on the outside wrapper of this little book. Inside we have a second title from which reference to the "Foreword" is omitted, but after the word "England" is inserted "now generally known as Reconciliation Working together with some account of Emulation Lodge of Improvement," and the date of publication is given as 1925. This is somewhat confusing, but as a fact the Foreword by Lord Ampthill *does* appear, dated 3 November 1924, while the two chapters by Bro. Rankin *do* deal mainly with the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation and the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, which here and there is conveniently abbreviated to E.L.I.

Unfortunately Bro. Rankin is not an historian and he has not made direct reference to original documents. He states that for much of his material he is indebted to magazine articles of recent date, in addition to the better known writings of Bros. Sadler and Wonnacott.

Bro. Rankin says that "The Articles of Union . . . laid it down that henceforward there should be a unity or uniformity of working . . ." Article III. to which apparently he refers reads:—

> There shall be the most perfect unity of obligation, of discipline, of working the Lodges, of making, passing and raising, instructing and clothing Brothers; . . .

It will be noticed that Bro. Rankin has inserted the word "uniformity" which does not appear in the original Article, and *unity* and *uniformity* have not the same meaning. It is true that in the next Article the word "uniformity" is introduced:—

> for the purpose of receiving and communicating due light and settling this uniformity of regulation and instruction (and particularly in matters which can neither be expressed nor described in writing), it is further agreed that brotherly application be made to the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, to authorise, delegate and appoint, any two or more of their enlightened members to be present at the Grand Assembly on the solemn occasion of uniting the said Fraternities; . . . that it may be declared, recognised, and known, that they all are bound by the same solemn pledge, and work under the same law.

The representatives reported later that "upon a strict Masonic examination on matters that can neither be written nor described, it was ascertained that the Three Grand Lodges were perfectly in unison in all the great and essential points of the Mystery and Craft, according to the immemorial traditions and uninterrupted usages of Ancient Masons"; but if Bro. Rankin can show that either then or since there has been *uniformity of working* between the three Grand Lodges he will have achieved much. I do not know of any evidence that the Lodge of Reconciliation taught or purported to teach an absolute uniformity of ritual—the members had quite enough to do in settling essentials—and while Bro. Rankin seems to accept Claret at his face value, it is evident that the work of the latter is not that of present-day Emulation. Bro. Sadler discredited Claret entirely.

Bro. Rankin quotes Bro. Golby as his primary authority for the statement that about 1860 the differences between Stability and Emulation working "were verbal only and almost negligible," and he states that twenty years later they had got further apart in consequence of what he calls the "elaborated Stability." Even if there were actually an early convergence and a later divergence (and that is by no means proved), is it so certain that Stability was the offender?

Bro. Rankin makes the ingenious suggestion that the lectures of the Grand Stewards' Lodge (whose system Peter Gilkes claimed to be teaching in 1830) were in effect the working of the Lodge of Reconciliation. He does not produce a shred of evidence in support of this suggestion. It might with equal reason be contended that the Grand Stewards' Lectures were those formulated by William Preston, and indeed Bro. Sadler has stated that the Emulation Lectures "bear a striking resemblance to lectures known to have been in use about 1798." The mention of a dozen Grand Stewards who have been more or less prominent in Emulation during the past sixty years does not help Bro. Rankin's argument, for it would probably be an easy matter to compile a much longer list of those who did *not* patronize Emulation. So too with Grand Secretaries, who have not confined their membership to Emulation; and it is curious that Bro. Rankin omits reference to William Gray Clarke and Shadwell H. Clerke. It may also be noted that certainly two of the brethren whose portraits are given—Sir Edward Letchworth and Dr. Hammond—were not Emulation workers, though the former, who joined in 1875, was Treasurer from 1895 to 1918.

It is a pity that Emulation does not possess its early Minute Books, but why does Bro. Rankin say that they were "destroyed or lost in the Fire at Freemasons' Hall"? It has become a custom amongst Lodges whose early Records are missing to lay the blame upon this fire, which occurred in 1883; but there is no foundation whatever for the statements. The fire was confined practically to the nominal East end of the Hall, where the Dais was almost completely destroyed. I have it on the authority of Bro. Sadler and of those who actually cleared away the charred and burnt wood, that not a scrap of paper was found. Indeed it would be strange if the space under the Dais were used as a store-house for books. Furthermore the Emulation books were known to have been lost fifteen years before the fire took place!

The List of Committee men which Bro. Rankin provides in order to prove an unbroken chain seems to show weakness in some of its links, the principal one being that Wilson (joined the Lodge in October, 1832) only overlapped Gilkes (died December, 1833) by about fourteen months, and was not elected to the Committee until 1859; Pike (joined 1833) being elected in 1860. Fenn, who joined in 1857, was Secretary in 1861 and 1862, and was put on the Committee in 1863, but dropped out two years later. He was re-appointed in 1870, continuing as a member until 1879, when he became Treasurer.

A few words may be added about that worthy man Peter Gilkes, upon whose fame much of Emulation history is based. He is said to have been born in 1765, and this is probably correct, as, according to the Grand Lodge Register,

he was thirty years old when he was initiated in 1794. He joined several Lodges and was elected therein as Master year after year in order that he might be qualified for membership of the Board of Benevolence. In his day it was perhaps unusual for the Master to work the Ceremonies in his Lodge, those duties being deputed to a brother specially appointed for the purpose. We have, however, some grounds for assuming that Gilkes was a competent worker and that brethren turned to him (amongst others) for help and instruction. He was a member of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, that Grand Lodge which by its own admission had departed from the ancient Landmarks of the Society. Gilkes would, therefore, need to unlearn his old work and start afresh at the Lodge of Promulgation, which we are told he attended in 1809-11. Then after the Union he would be obliged to attend the Lodge of Reconciliation in order to learn the new work approved by the United Grand Lodge, and Bro. Rankin mentions that he was present on ten or more occasions. One may pity the man who found himself compelled to teach three different Craft Rituals within six years. He was sixty years old when he joined Emulation in 1825, and he died in December, 1833, "having been ill for a considerable time." It would be interesting to know the date of his last attendance, for it is well within the bounds of possibility that he and Wilson never met.

It is quite true, as Bro. Rankin states, that Gilkes went to several Lodges in the Provinces and gave instruction in the new work. But he was not the only one who did so. Such visits were made by actual members of the Lodge of Reconciliation, and particular mention may be made of William Shadbolt, J.W. of the Lodge, who went to Dublin in 1814 in order to see the Irish working. He was given a wonderful welcome, and shortly after his departure a Lodge of Instruction was formed in that City "for the sole purpose of communicating Masonic information and promoting . . . a discipline and regularity of Duty at labour as nearly resembling that practised in England as shall be found practicable."

This new body soon developed into the Irish Grand Lodge of Instruction which ever since has been the recognized authority on all matters of ritual, but it has never attempted to interfere with traditional ritual practised by Irish Lodges from 1760 or earlier. It seems evident that the brethren of 1814 looked upon "discipline and regularity of Duty" as something quite different from a set form of words.

Those who attended the meetings of the Lodge of Reconciliation can hardly have taken away much more than general principles to qualify them as instructors, and that differences exist between the various schools of instruction is not so much to be wondered at as that these differences are so slight. It is evident that the founders clung closely to the basic principles set forth by Reconciliation and approved by Grand Lodge, and developed therefrom a form of Ritual that suited the needs of the time. To have helped in accomplishing this is surely sufficient glory for any Lodge: none can be gained by putting forward claims that are contrary to probability and unsupported by evidence.

W. J. Songhurst.

March, 1925.

# OBITUARY.

It is with regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Henry Kennett Baynes,** of Cairo, on 10th April, 1923. Our Brother was P.Dis.G.Sec., Egypt and Sudan, and for the last ten years had acted as our Local Secretary for Egypt. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1910.

**F. C. B. Bishop,** of Christchurch, N.Z., on 15th April, 1923. Bro. Bishop was a Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Grand Superintendent, R.A., in New Zealand, and was the Representative there from the Grand Lodge of Maine. Our Brother joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1912.

**Herbert Bradley,** C.S.I., of London, on 3rd June, 1923. A Past District Grand Master, and Past Grand Superintendent, Madras, Bro. Bradley was elected to our Correspondence Circle in October, 1893. He joined the Lodge in January, 1917, and was Master in 1921.

**Thomas de Renzy Condell,** of Christchurch, N.Z., on 1st June, 1923. For twenty-one years he held the office of Dis.G.Sec., Canterbury, and had been appointed Past Grand Standard Bearer of the Grand Lodge of England. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1899.

**William Dixon,** of Lincoln, on 14th June, 1923. Bro. Dixon was P.Pr.G.W. of Lincolnshire, and was the Masonic Historian of that Province.

**Edward Wynne Donovan,** M.I.Mech.E., of Prestwich, Lancashire, on 4th June, 1923. Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Sojourner, R.A. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1906.

**John William Gieve,** of Southsea, on 7th April, 1923. Bro. Gieve had held the offices of Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Grand Standard Bearer, R.A. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1889.

**Ernst Greiner,** of London, on 22nd May, 1923. A Past Master of the Moira Lodge No. 92. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in November, 1894.

**William Brown Hextall,** of London, on 5th May, 1923. Past Grand Deacon. Bro. Hextall was elected to our Correspondence Circle in January, 1904, joined the Lodge in March, 1911, and was Master in 1915.

**W. G. Hobbs,** of Cambridge, on 28th May, 1923. Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1904.

**William Alfred John Pitman,** of London, on 9th June, 1923. A Past Master of Bagshaw Lodge No. 1457. Bro. Pitman joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1914.

**W. H. Rushton,** of Exmouth, on 20th April, 1923. Our Brother was a member of the Lodge of Hope No. 413, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1895.

**George Thompson,** of London, on 5th June, 1923. Bro. Thompson held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., E.Arch., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1908.

**Edward Bennett Wells,** of London, on 1st April, 1923. He was a Past Master of Loyalty Lodge No. 1607, and Sc.E. in the Chapter attached thereto. Our Brother became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1917.

# SUMMER OUTING, 1923.

# BATH AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

*BY BRO. J. WALTER HOBBS.*

THE Departure Platform at Paddington has been the scene of many stirring events, but the central attraction on the 5th July, 1923, was the assembling of Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge and its Correspondence Circle for the Summer Outing to Bath, 104 miles away, a distance quickly covered by the non-stop Spa express, for 105 minutes after the start we arrived at Bath Station and were warmly welcomed by Bro. L. Vibert, I.P.M., Bros. C. Curd, John Hatton and other local Brethren, and escorted to the Grand Pump Room Hotel, where the party from London were joined by Brethren from other parts as far distant as Sheffield, Berwick-on-Tweed, Falkirk and elsewhere.

Bath is too well known to require any description here which would be of the typical Guide Book character, so that only such information as is needful to assist in comprehending the itinerary is given. In the afternoon the party were conducted by Bro. John Hatton, the Director of Baths, over the celebrated Bathing establishment. From his description it appears that in origin and name, in its fame and largely in its future, Bath is founded upon water. Little wonder, therefore, that letters of gold on the pediment of the Pump Room proclaim in Greek characters that "Water is best." But it is no ordinary water upon which Bath has built its reputation. Half-a-million gallons of health-giving water flow every day from the Hot Springs of Bath. Not only are the Bath waters the only natural hot springs in the British Isles—their temperature at the spring is 120 deg.—but they are also the richest in radium emanation. For two thousand years the Hot Springs of Bath have been restoring health and strength to the sick and suffering.

The hot mineral waters of Bath attracted the health-loving Romans, who about the year 54 A.D. erected magnificent thermæ and noble temples. For nearly four centuries the Roman City, then called Aquæ Sulis, was a great and important Spa.

After the withdrawal of the Romans the baths were used by the Romano-British inhabitants until the City was destroyed by the Saxons in 577. For centuries these wonderful relics of antiquity remained completely buried, preserving for our own age one of the finest monuments of the Roman period in Europe.

The Bathing Establishment consists of the Queen's Baths, the Royal Baths, opened in 1916 by Field-Marshal Viscount French, with its large new wing, an important addition opened in 1919 by the Minister of Health, Dr. Christopher Addison, and the Department of Electro-therapy and Orthopædics added in 1921, and the Old Royal Baths.

The waters are served for drinking in the historic eighteenth century Pump Room, acknowledged to be the most comfortable Pump Room at any Spa in the world. The original Chippendale seats are in use, and at one end is a statue of Beau Nash, and the famous Tompion clock, presented by the maker, Thomas Tompion, to Nash in 1709.

The mineral waters are used chiefly in the treatment of Gout and Rheumatism in their many forms, Sciatica, Lumbago and Neuritis, and in certain skin diseases of gouty and rheumatic origin, and gouty Laryngitis, and chronic Catarrh and in Mucous Colitis. These, however, are only some of the many complaints treated successfully at Bath, but this indicates the wide range and the very varied equipment of the great curative establishment.

The party inspected the various methods adopted for curative purposes, and realized the complexity and success of the work.

Later the party were entertained at tea by the Mayor (Alderman Cedric Chivers) and the Mayoress (Madame Sarah Grand), in the Concert Hall, when typical Bath dainties and food productions were partaken of. The Citizens House Players performed a charming programme of vocal and instrumental music reminiscent of life in Bath in the eighteenth century.

After dinner Bro. Egbert Lewis gave an interesting account of Bath Masonry with lantern illustrations, of which the following is a resumé.

The address dealt with the formation of the various Lodges which have from time to time existed in Bath and the buildings in which the Lodge meetings have been held.

The first Lodge in Bath of which there is any record is No. 28 meeting at the Queen's Head. According to Lane this was the first warranted Country Lodge and was constituted in 1724. It numbered amongst its members many distinguished men, including Richard Nash, more generally known as Beau Nash.

The next Lodge formed met at the Bear Inn in 1732, as there are Minutes in existence dated December of that year, and it probably met as early as 1731. It did not, however, receive a warrant till 1733, when it was numbered 113. In 1768 it was meeting at the White Hart, but returned to the Bear in 1786, when it united with the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 458.

The Bear Inn was at this period a very popular hostelry and a favourite meeting place of the citizens.

The White Hart Inn is shown on Gilmore's plan as "The Hart Lodgings in Staul's Street." It was in this picturesque Elizabethan house, with its gabled roof and capacious porch, that Lodge No. 113 met in 1768. The only other Lodge recorded to have met at this Inn was the Lodge of Perfect Friendship from 1781 to 1803. The White Hart of the *Pickwick Papers* was owned by Moses Pickwick and was the most important coaching house in the city, and he was the most popular and most wealthy coach proprietor of his day. The White Hart ceased to be used as an inn in 1861. It was removed about 1867, and the Grand Pump Room Hotel was built on the site.

Under the Atholl constitution a warrant was granted in 1762 to Lodge No. 100 to meet at the Shakespeare's Head, but its activity was short as it lapsed soon afterwards.

Another Atholl Lodge was No. 168, meeting at the Pelican. The warrant was dated April, 1771, but was returned in September, 1773. It was re-issued in March, 1807, to a Lodge meeting at the Red Lion, Hythe, Kent, and is still in existence as No. 125. The Pelican Inn, Walcot Street, is now known as the Three Cups. It is chiefly noted for the fact that Dr. Johnson stayed there.

In 1765 another Lodge was formed to meet at the Shakespeare's Head. It was numbered 348 under the 'Modern' constitution. In 1777 it was named the Lodge of Perfect Friendship. It was then meeting at the Three Tuns in Stall Street. In 1817 the name was changed to the Royal York Lodge of Perfect Friendship No. 243. There appears to have been considerable discord in the Lodge, resulting in an enquiry by Grand Lodge, and on December 1st, 1824, the Lodge was erased.

Another Lodge warranted by the 'Moderns' was the Lodge of Virtue No. 445 in June, 1769. Its place of meeting was the Sadlers' Arms. It was erased in 1831, by which time its number had become No. 311.

In 1784 a warrant was granted to the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 458 meeting at the Bear Inn. This is the Lodge referred to before as uniting with No. 113. At the re-numbering in 1863 it became No. 41.

The next Lodge to be constituted was No. 49 in 1812. It was an Atholl Lodge, and received the warrant of a Lodge which was at one time held at the Kings Head, Drury Lane, London. The first place of meeting of No. 49 in Bath was the Bladud's Head, Walcot Street. The existing Minutes commence with a meeting held on the 7th April, 1817, when a resolution of thanks was adopted to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex for allowing the Lodge to take the title of Royal Sussex Lodge. After several re-numberings the Lodge is now 53.

In February, 1825, was constituted the Lodge of Honour No. 798. Its first meeting place was the York House Hotel. In 1832 it became No. 528, and in 1863 No. 379. The Centenary of this Lodge will be reached in 1925.

The Royal Albert Edward Lodge, now the fourth Bath Lodge, was originally held at Keynsham. Its founders were chiefly drawn from the Royal Cumberland Lodge. The warrant is dated 16th January, 1862. In 1867 it was moved to the Crown and Anchor, Weston. In 1891 the Lodge moved to the Masonic Hall, Bath.

The last Lodge constituted in Bath was the St. Alphege No. 4095 in 1920. The formation of this Lodge was deemed necessary to relieve the pressure on No. 906 from which most of the Founders were drawn, although it received support from all the other Lodges.

In the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century Freemasons' Lodges were almost invariably held in Inns, and the names of seventeen Inns appear in the records as the meeting places of the several Bath Lodges at various times.

In 1817 a movement was started to build a Masonic Hall, and this resulted in the erection of the building in York Street now used as the Quakers' Meeting House. This Hall was dedicated on 23rd September, 1819, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the Grand Master, who on the following morning was presented with the Freedom of the City of Bath by the Mayor, Mr. G. H. Tugwell.

The Lodges concerned in the building of this Hall were the Royal Cumberland, the Royal York and the Lodge of Virtue. The Royal Sussex Lodge took no part in the undertaking and continued to meet at the Greyhound Inn, but the Minute Book shows that the Lodge met at the York Street Hall in 1826.

From the very first there were serious financial difficulties connected with the Hall, which culminated in the assignment of the building to Bro. Charles Geary in 1823. Geary also gained possession of the Masonic furniture. It was first proposed to dispose of the latter by means of a lottery. This, however, did not take place, and it was sold privately to the Loyal Lodge No. 251 Barnstaple. After the sale it was divided, some being secured by the Bideford Lodge, some by private persons, but the greater part was retained by the Barnstaple Lodge, where it still is. The furniture thus disposed of belonged to the Royal Cumberland Lodge, the Royal York Lodge and the Lodge of Virtue. The portion at present at the Masonic Hall, Barnstaple, comprises three chairs, two brazen pillars, three silver candlesticks, silver working tools, middle chamber and tracing boards, all of which belonged to the Royal Cumberland Lodge. Two Rococo pillars upon which are two terrestrial globes were from the Lodge of Virtue. Some chairs, firing glasses, Jacob's ladder, rough ashlar marked R.Y.L. evidently belonged to the Royal York Lodge.

The portrait of Dunckerley hanging in the anteroom of the present Masonic Hall is by Philip Van Dyke of Bristol and was presented to the Lodge of Honour in 1839 by Bro. James Lucas, a Past Master of the Moira Lodge.

The furniture purchased by Bideford was unfortunately disposed of when the Lodge was in difficulties and cannot now be traced.

We now come to the present Hall, which was built in 1750. Mr. John Hippisley, a London actor of some repute, in 1747 submitted a proposal to the public to build a Theatre in Orchard Street. Probably because sufficient funds were not forthcoming, it was not till the commencement of the season of 1750 that the Theatre was opened.

During the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century the Bath Theatre, as Percy Fitzgerald says, "was the dramatic nursery for the London stage and abounds in well known names, and first of all Sheridan and the Linleys." Sheridan's comedy of "The Rivals," the plot of which was founded on the author's romantic attachment to Elizabeth Linley and his duel with Capt. Matthews, was produced at the Bath Theatre in March, 1775. It was followed shortly after by the "School for Scandal," which was undoubtedly suggested by the gossip of the Pump Room.

The name which stands out in this period above all others is that of Mrs. Siddons, for it was at the Bath Theatre that she made a reputation, after an unsympathetic reception in London, which presently gained her fame for all time and secured the favour of the London public.

The last performance in this Theatre took place on 13th July, 1805, and on 12th October, 1805 the New Theatre Royal, Beauford Square, was opened.

For a few years the Orchard Street building remained empty till it was purchased by Father Ainsworth, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, which was finding the Chapel in Corn Street too small and inconvenient.

In October, 1865, the Royal Cumberland Lodge and the Royal Sussex Lodge were meeting at the Corridor Rooms and the Lodge of Honour at 3, Westgate Buildings. The necessity of finding another place of meeting was discussed and a committee was appointed to "consider the expediency of seeking fresh rooms."

The chief alterations necessary to convert the Chapel to a Masonic Hall were the removal of the pews which were used to provide screens on either side to lessen the width, and the ultimate result was that the Orchard Street building was acquired and vested in six brethren of the Royal Sussex Lodge as trustees for the Lodge.

The new Lodge Room was consecrated on 3rd December, 1866, by Bro. C. R. Davy, W.M. of the Sussex Lodge, who the same evening passed five and raised three brethren and also installed his successor.

Subsequently the Royal Cumberland Lodge, the Lodge of Honour and all the other Masonic degrees in Bath became tenants of the Royal Sussex Lodge and held their meetings in the Hall.

The premises have recently been transferred to new Trustees representing the five Bath Lodges, and the premises adjoining the Past Masters' room, which had been let as a furniture store, have been taken over and in them have been constructed quarters for the caretaker.

Extensive alterations to the Masonic Hall premises are now in progress. A room is to be furnished as a Masonic Museum and Library in recognition of the great service rendered to Freemasonry by Bro. George Norman, who has generously presented his own private library to the Trustees of the Masonic Hall, to form the beginning of what it is hoped may become a valuable adjunct to Freemasonry in the Province of Somerset.

Many details of interest were given, and the views exhibited were appropriate, and Bro. Egbert Lewis was cordially thanked, on behalf of the Brethren present, by Bro. R. H. Baxter, W.M. 2076.

The Bath Brethren then displayed the Masonic working of 1761 under W.Bro. Chas. Curd as W.M., those taking part being dressed in the costumes of that period. Details cannot, of course, be given, but the demonstration effectively brought to the minds of the onlookers the nature of the old Craft working and of the great change between that of 1761 and of to-day. The work was extremely well done, and the workers deserved the thanks and praise accorded to them.

On the 6th July the party proceeded for a tour in the country and visits to places of interest. We left Bath along the line of the Roman Road. The Fosse Way, coming from Lincoln eventually, came into Bath down this valley, and a road, the Via Julia, turned up the hill past Walcot Church to continue to Bristol and South Wales, while another branch went up over Lansdown. The Fosse Way itself crossed the City and continued to Axmouth, in Devonshire. Bathwick Hill is on the right, surmounted by Sham Castle, put up by Ralph Allen in 1760 to improve the view from his house in the City. It is a mere shell. On the left is Sulbury, an isolated hill which must as a fortified position have been of great importance at one time, as it commands the approaches to Bath by each of the three branches of the valley we were in, the approaches, that is to say, from Gloucester or Mercia on the North, from Malmesbury and the Thames Valley on the East, and from Wessex or Wiltshire on the South-West via the Avon Valley. The valley on the left is Swainswick, as to the explanation of which name antiquaries differ, but it is the case that Sweyn wintered in Bath in 1013. In front on the hill behind Bathwick is a tower known as Brown's Folly, built by the then proprietor of the estate as an observatory. The next hill on the left is Bannerdown, which may or may not have been the scene of the battle between the Britons and Saxons referred to by Bede as taking place at the Mons Badonicus.

Leaving the main valley on the right we turned up the valley of the By Brook to the village of Box, which gives its name to the tunnel, of which we saw the Western end as we crossed the G.W. main line after passing through the village. At the top of the hill are the stone quarries which are supposed to have been discovered by St. Aldhelm when he was building Malmesbury and the sub-Churches of Frome and Bradford-on-Avon. We left Corsham on the right, and passed through Pickwick. As has already been mentioned, Moses Pickwick was a coach proprietor in the days of Dickens. On the right we got a glimpse of Corsham Court, the residence of Lord Methuen.

Reaching Bowood, near Chippenham, the seat of the Marquess of Lansdowne, we drove through the Park, and were conducted round the exterior of the Mansion and buildings, but, owing to the illness of the Marchioness of Lansdowne, it was not possible to inspect the interior. We were, however, taken around the private and other gardens and the Arboretum, containing many trees of rare and valuable character, and noticed many fine views over the surrounding country.

From Bowood we travelled via Spye Park to Lacock. The view from the top of the hill approaching Bathcock is a very remarkable one, extending from the Southwolds and Lansdown on our right to the Mendips and the hills above Warminster and Westbury, the Western extremity of Salisbury Plain on our left.

Arriving in Lacock village we walked through the grounds of the Abbey, the residence of Miss Talbot. The Abbey dates from the thirteenth century, having been founded by Ela, who married William Longespee, the eldest son of Henry II. and the offspring of that monarch's amour with the Fair Rosamond. After the death of her husband in 1226, Ela remained a widow, with a determination to devote herself to good works, viz., the founding of Monasteries "to please God, and for the salvation of her soul as well as that of her husband, and those of their ancestors." The selection of Lacock as the site of one of the intended buildings was due to a vision in which she was directed to build there "a monastery in honour of St. Mary and St. Bernard, in the meadow called Snail's Mead." The foundation was laid in 1232, the whole of the Manor of Lacock being given by her to carry on the undertaking. The stone for the buildings was obtained from Box, part of a quarry at Haselbury, 76ft. wide, having been secured for the purpose by an exchange with the Abbot of Stanley. Ela herself took the Veil at Lacock, and became the first Abbess. The office was held by her until 1256, when she resigned, but five years longer she remained an inmate of the Abbey, her death occurring on the 24th August,

1261. She was buried in the Choir of the Monastery, but the monumental stone, with an inscription, is shown in the Cloisters, whither it was at some time removed.

The revenue of the Abbey was returned in 1291 at £101.12.4d.; at the Dissolution it was estimated at £171.19.3d.

Sir William Sharington, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol, which office he only held for a short time, acquired Lacock Abbey for his abode and made such alterations as were necessary to adapt it as a private residence. He added, however, granaries, bakehouse, brewhouse, and other offices, which form the quadrangle on the North side, as still seen, and, taken together, is a very fair example of the architecture of the period. He also built the turret at the South-East angle in which the Magna Charta of Henry III. is carefully preserved, as befits a document so precious. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Henry Sharington, who had three daughters, the youngest of whom, Olive, married firstly, John Talbot, of Salwarpe, county Worcester, through whom the Abbey has devolved to its present owner.

Large portions of the original buildings remain in their entirety. Here is the very dormitory which many successions of Nuns occupied, and the stone steps, worn by their feet into hollows, leading thereto; the perfect Cloisters with their fifteenth century ambulatories; the Chapter House with its fine groined ceiling; the two parlours, outer and inner, where talking was permitted; the calefactory or room with a fire, also called the Day Room; the kitchen, altered and reduced in size by Sharington, and cellar with frater over. Some portions of these have been repaired to arrest decay.

At one end of the Cloister are two mural paintings, now much faded. In the larger recess is depicted the Abbess carrying her crozier and kneeling to a saint, probably St. Augustine, and in the smaller what appears to be a female saint.

The party then proceeded to inspect the village, the Abbey Barn of the fourteenth century, some ancient houses of the fifteenth century and the Church, originally part of the Abbey foundation.

The Parish Church is dedicated to St. Cyriac, a rather uncommon patron, and consists of a Western Tower with spire and porch; Nave with North and South aisles, clerestory, North and South transepts, and Chancel with a North Chapel. The oldest portion is the North transept, with is fourteenth century work. That it was not the original edifice is shown by the fact that Norman remains were found when some of the perpendicular masonry was rebuilt in 1875. Apart from this incidental proof there is documentary evidence establishing the point in the two volumes of Cartularies preserved at the Abbey. In 1312 a license was obtained empowering the owners of Lacock to take over the Church.

The old Norman Church was succeeded by the present cruciform structure. Like other ecclesiastical buildings, it was debased in later days by alterations, and since the commencement of the present century a good deal has been done to the Church.

The Lady Chapel on the North side of the Chancel is undoubtedly the most beautiful feature in the building. The richly moulded and carved arches, and the pendent groining with its peculiar ribs, shaped as festoons of foliage, and the original painted glass, form a very pleasing combination. The Eastern bay is occupied by a large and elaborate monument to Sir William Sharington, the original coloured decorations of which were artistic, but the attempt made to renew them in the eighteenth century was not a success.

From Lacock the route was via Melksham to Bradford-on-Avon, which was duly reached. After lunch, having generously satisfied the demands of fair collectors for a local charity, some of the Brethren faced the heat (92 deg. in the shade) and inspected various buildings in the town and vicinity, including the Tithe Barn (about 1300), St. Catherine's Chapel on the Bridge, The Hall (Elizabethan), by permission of John Moulton, Esq., and the Masonic Hall.

The chief centres of attraction were the Pre-Norman Church and the Parish Church (eleventh century), the latter being described by the Vicar, the Rev. W. H. M. Clarke. Of the former it may be of greater interest to include here the following description by Bro. Alfred Young Mayell, whose knowledge is not only professional but personal, as his family home is at Bradford.

> The history of this remarkable Church is obscure, largely owing to the absence of any early records.
>
> It is stated that Ina, who had succeeded to the throne of Wessex, about the beginning of the eighth century, not only granted to Aldhelm (afterwards Bishop of Sherborne) permission to build a monastery at Bradford, but also bestowed some lands for its support. St. Aldhelm died in 709. The following is from the *National Encyclopædia*:—
>
> > "Bradford was of some repute in Saxon times and possesses what has been pronounced to be 'the one perfect Saxon Church in the country.' This is the Saxon Chapel of St. Laurence built by St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, at the beginning of the eighth century on the scene of the victory of his uncle Cenwealch and mentioned by William of Malmesbury in illustration of his remarks on the progress of Architecture in this country."
>
> Canon Jones, the late Vicar, as well as Professor Freeman, J. H. Parker, Professor Baldwin Brown, Dr. Duckinfield Astley, and other authorities, were originally in 1857 of opinion from a study of its style that the Church belonged to the tenth or eleventh century, but in 1871 Canon Jones, while searching in the Bodleian Library on another subject, came across the following passage in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*:—"Moreover a general opinion has grown up that a third monastery was erected by St. Aldhelm at Bradford which seems to be confirmed by the entry in ancient lettering of the name of the town in the series of privileged or exempted towns in which the Bishop now gave permission to be appended to his monasteries, and there remains to this day in that place a little Church, which he is said to have erected to the name of St. Laurence. However, both the monasteries of Frome and of Bradford have altogether disappeared, and there remains only the empty name."
>
> In 1001 Ethelred the Unready gave the Manor of Bradford and the Monastery to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and some think the date of the Church, judged from its style, is between 950-1000, and that either Ethelred or his predecessor Edgar, in whose reign we know a great deal of Church building and restoration was carried out, rebuilt the Church, possibly on its original site, and refounded the little monastery.
>
> When the restoration had been concluded the later view vanished, and Edward Freeman assented to the ascription of the little Church to Aldhelm and wrote in 1886:—"There can be no reasonable doubt that the building now standing is the Ecclesiola recorded by William as having been built at Bradford by St. Ealdhelm, an all but untouched example of a Church of the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth: it must be unique or very nearly so."
>
> It does not appear to have been used as a Church for some centuries, and to support this theory is the fact that the Nave is described in the old Deeds as a Skull House, which seems to suggest that during the middle ages it was used as a Charnel House, and so escaped alteration and destruction.
>
> Up to about 1855 the existence of this Church had been lost sight of. In 1712 the Nave and Porch had been turned into a School, the Chancel belonged to another owner and had been turned into a cottage. The Chancel arch had been pulled down and a chimney stack built in its place (the soot is still to be seen on the stones of the East end of the Nave),

a floor had been put across the Nave (you will notice where the joists were let into the wall), and a ceiling above that somewhat lower down than the angels (see later); two floors had been put across the Chancel, a staircase had been built outside, another staircase had been put up in the Nave and a third in the Porch. A house was built for the Master on the South side of the Nave, and a shed butted up against the Porch on the North. Ordinary house windows had been inserted in various positions, the original ones had been walled up, the West end was partly covered with ivy, and altogether the building was so transformed both inside and out that its ancient date and original purpose were not suspected.

It is true that the arcading round the Chancel was still visible, but little notice seems to have been taken of it, and the building was assumed to be of the eighteenth century, and thus the Church had entirely passed out of memory. Still a tradition lingered in Bradford that there had been a Saxon Church here, and the Vicar of that time, Canon Jones, an enthusiastic Antiquary, seems to have lived in hopes that he might some day come across some evidence of it. When looking from the hill above the town, down on to the roofs below, he noticed the roofs of the Nave, Chancel and Porch of this building, and it occurred to him that they might be those of the lost Church. His idea was received with suspicion, but he developed it until those who differed from him were bound to admit that he had discovered the Church, and by degreees the building was acquired and vested in Trustees, and reinstated as a Church.

In the interior the height is a noticeable feature, the length of the Nave and the height are the same within a few inches, viz., about 25ft. 5in., while the width is 13ft. 2in., so that the length and height are about double the width. The Chancel is 13ft. 2in. by 10ft. 0in. and 18ft. 4in. high, and the Porch 9ft. 11in. by 10ft. 5in. by 15ft. 6in. high. Notice also the small size of the Chancel arch, 3ft. 6in. wide. It possesses socket holes under the abacus for a pair of small gates, and a cutting in the arch immediately above the abacus for a beam, seeming to show that the tympanum was originally filled in.

The doorways are very narrow and taper 1½in. on each side, a feature only found in the Saxon period; that in the North transept is out of the centre of the Porch, to allow, it is supposed, more space for an altar against the Eastern wall: the Porch is unusually large for the size of the Church, and must be regarded as a lateral chapel, being used for other purposes both religious and secular.

The jambs and archivolts of the Chancel arch and of the North and South arches in the Nave, as well as of the doorway, have the pilaster strip work, a feature of the late Saxon work; this starts from the plinth and stops under the impost and is continued again round the arch.

This strip work may also be seen at the Churches at Brigstock, Earl's Barton and Barnack, Northamptonshire, believed to be of the same period as Bradford; and at Wittering, Northants, and Biddlebury, Shropshire, which are later than Bradford. I do not know of any instance of this pilaster strip work recorded in Churches of an earlier date.

High up over the Chancel arch will be noticed the sculptured figures of two angels, each with a napkin over the arm. These were part of the ancient rood, the Crucifix which would be between them being missing. They are not in their original places, being too high to admit of the figure of our Lord upon the Cross between them. The one on the right hand was built into the face of the chimney which stood here when the Church was used as a school.

The two buttresses on the South side are built upon the foundations of, and to mark the position of, the South Porch which is supposed to have originally existed and so made the Church cruciform in shape. It is probable that this South Porch possessed no external doorway, for the

ground at that point was formerly some 5-6ft. below the present level, and consequently some 10-12 steps would have been necessary between the floor of the Church and the ground. In excavating a few years ago to examine the foundations of the South side, coal dust was found 5-6ft. below the surface, on the earth floor of an old shed which had stood against the South wall until recent times.

The appearance of the Church on this side would thus be much loftier than at present, and the windows in the Nave and Chancel much higher from the ground, as we should expect for defence and safety. The original doorway would thus be on the North side, an unusual position, but, owing to the nearness of the river on the South, the town would naturally lie to the North of the Church.

The walls stand on a square plinth, and are divided in the lower part by pilasters into panels. This is continuous round the entire building, which has the appearance of having been erected at one time.

The pilasters clasp the angles, and rise from a second plinth, some of them standing on stepped bases. Above the pilasters is a square string course, upon which rests a slightly recessed arcade, with rounded arches. This runs round the entire Church, except that in the Porch, the walls of which, being lower, the round arches are omitted; the smaller pilasters stopping under a tabling. Upon the square string is a narrow course forming the base, then a filling of large stones, and another narrow course forming the cap. These continue at the same level round the entire building. Between this base and cap are small pilasters, and above are semi-circular arches, but the wall appears to have been built flat, and the arcade to have been made by recessing the space between the pilasters and under the arches; yet the narrow cap and base stones referred to show that this arcade was part of the original intentions of the designer.

I would point out the beading of the pilasters of the arcade, at the East end of the Nave, Chancel, and on the North gable of Porch. This beading is begun on the North-East corner pilaster of the Chancel, but is unfinished, showing that the decorating was done after the walls were built, and was suddenly left off. There is no evidence as to how the pilasters in the gables were finished, as the copings and stones of upper part of gables have been renewed, but possibly they were finished by stilted arches.

There are only three windows in the building, one each in Nave, Chancel and Porch. They are set in the centre of the wall and splayed both externally and internally, which is a sign of late Saxon work. The window in the Porch has been enlarged and a good deal hacked about.

In the Porch a number of stones are seen, several of mediæval date, from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, which belong probably to the Parish Church. But there are a few Saxon stones, two belonging to a Saxon Cross. Now the Bishop of Bristol states that a Cross was built at each place where the body of Aldhelm rested on its way from Doulting, in Somerset, where he died, to Malmesbury, where he was buried. These stones may be parts of the stem and wheel of that Cross. Another large stone, covered with Saxon interlaced ornament, looks like the front of an altar, and the character of the ornament has been by some thought to be of the eighth century; if so, it would seem possible that it formed part of the Altar of St. Aldhelm's Church. It would be most interesting to hear the opinion of some who have studied Saxon ornamentation.

The return to Bath was by way of Bathwick, and the evening was spent in a detailed inspection of the Roman Baths and remains, under the guidance of Bro. A. J. Taylor, the City Architect, who gave a short account of Roman Baths to the Brethren grouped around the Great Bath, and a description of the remains visible. Some were fortunate in seeing the underground structure surrounding and covering the actual springs, where the heated water was seen rising through the earth, as it has been doing for centuries, constant in

quantity and temperature. The Brethren of the Somerset Masters' and Associated Bath Lodges received the party, and entertained them with social and fraternal attention in the Grand Pump Room.

On the 7th July the party were taken in motors, under the guidance of local Brethren, to view the Domestic Architecture of the City, and to the Parks, and special view points, and a pleasant and interesting morning was spent. After lunch the party spent the afternoon as they pleased, thus some counteracted the torrid heat of the atmosphere by immersion in the plunge and swimming Baths; others strolled round the City shopping; others inspected the Art Gallery, or the Masonic Hall; while others went farther afield to Wells Cathedral, one party to Norton St. Philip (fifteenth century half-timbered Inn said by some to have been a hostelry for over 500 years), one party archæologically inclined went to Stanton Drew and inspected the Megalithic Circles and adjuncts probably as old as Avebury or prior to Stonehenge. Sport was not neglected, for some indulged in friendly games of Bowls and Golf, but the results were not formally declared. In the evening the party were "At Home" to and entertained the local Brethren in the Grand Pump Room, and, by kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation the City Charters, Plate, etc., were displayed to view, and W.Bro. Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. 2076, gave an interesting illustrated Lecture on "Some Continental Masonic Medals."

On Sunday, 8th July, the Brethren attended the morning service in Bath Abbey, having seats reserved for them in the Choir. Later the party broke up, most of the Brethren returning to London, others to their destinations elsewhere, and a few for personal convenience remaining till a later day. Thus a memorable function came to a close. It had been a success, indeed, in some respects a revelation, but no participant failed to preserve grateful appreciation of many kindnesses extended to them by the local Brethren, the officials of the Bath's establishment and the Mayor and City officials.

The visiting Brethren were:—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.M. 0 (S.C.); F. J. Asbury, of London, L.R., P.Pr.G.D.C., Surrey; W. N. Bacon, of London, P.M., 15; Brig.-Gen. R. Bagnall-Wild, of London, P.G.S.B.; H. W. Barnes, of London, P.M. 1637; Rodk. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.W., W.M. 2076; J. Blackburn, of Birstall, 264; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; John Boddy, of Roker, P.Pr.G.D., Durham; G. E. Bolton, of Bognor, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; F. J. Boniface, of London, J.D. 2694; John Bridge, of Middleton, P.M. 3989; Robert Bridge, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.D.; Walter H. Brown, of London, P.G.Stew.; J. M. Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.W.; G. W. Bullamore, of Much Hadham, 441; W. N. Cheesman, of Selby, P.Pr.G.W.; G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Robert Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.; R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, J.D. 12; T. M. Copland, of Falkirk, P.M. 588; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, of Wisbech, P.M. 2283, I.G. 2076; Dr. A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; Alex. Darling, of Berwick-on-Tweed, P.G.St.B.; H. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D.; E. H. Dring, of Sutton, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; W. S. Ellis, of Hawksworth, P.Pr.G.A.P.; L. A. Engel, of London, L.R.; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C.; A. Gates, of Sherborne, P.Pr.G.Reg., Somerset; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Hugh Graham, of Falkirk, S.B. 16; J. T. Gaunt, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; John Harrison, of Sidcup, P.Pr.G.W., N. & E. Yorks.; A. Heiron, of London, L.R.; F. S. Henwood, of London, P.M. 227; J. Walter Hobbs, of London, L.R.; R. H. Holme, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.W.; John Holt, of Yarm, P.Pr.G.D., Durham; Percy H. Horley, of London, L. R.; Sydney Howard, of Radcliffe, 2930; Andrew Hunter, of Falkirk, Pr.G.Sup., Stirling; Henry Hyde, of Leytonstone, L.R.; J. R. H. Inkster, of London, I.G. 2694; George Jackson, of Radcliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; B. R. James, of Pinner, 2823; W. E. Jones, of London, L.R.; F. W. Laughton, of York, P.A.G.D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, of London, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.D. 2076; F. W. Le Tall, of London, L.R.; James Longworth, of Middleton, W.M. 3989; S. T. Lord, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.D.; W. A. McCallum, of Buenos Aires, P.M. 3706; H. A. Matheson, of

London, P.M. 2978; A. Y. Mayell, of London, L.R.; Lieut.-Col. A. R. Meggy, of Woodford Green, P.Pr.G.W.; W. L. Mildren, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.A.G.Sup.W.; H. E. Miller, of Stockton, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; Dr. J. Murray, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, 607; G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, of London, W.M. 4141; H. D. Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; E. Pickstone, of Radcliffe, 2930; P. Plowman, of London, P.M. 15; Henry Potter, of London, L.R.; Cecil Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; A. Presland, of London, 1637; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.M. 410; T. J. Ralling, of Colchester, P.G.D.; Thos. Selby, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; Geo. L. Shackles, of Hull, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. 2076; A. J. Smith, of London, 1962; B. A. Smith, of New Malden, 1962; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec. 2076; B. H. Springett, of London, P.Pr.G.P., Bucks.; J. W. Stevens, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; Dr. John Stokes, of Sheffield, P.Pr.G.W., J.D. 2076; R. C. M. Symns, of London, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; James Tearoe, of Purley, P.G.Stew.; John Thompson, of Colchester, L.R.; J. E. Shum Tuckett, of Bristol, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M. 2076; G. P. Turner, of Effingham, P.Pr.G.D., Herts.; Lionel Vibert, of Bath, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M. 2076; Dr. Charles Wells, of Maidenhead, P.G.D.; G. C. Williams, of London, P.M. 25; W. J. Williams, of London, 2696; W. Wonnacott, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M. 2076; and Horatio R. Wood, of Manchester, P.Pr.G.D.

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## FRIDAY, 5th OCTOBER, 1923.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., W.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, I.P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.D.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., West Yorks., J.D.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Jno. Harrison, F. C. Stoate, W. J. Williams, Geo. Simpson, W. Cowlishaw, J. Walter Hobbs, Walter Dewes, H. Hadow, A. Presland, G. Trevelyan Lee, G. A. Crocker, Rev. C. J. S. O'Grady, G. E. W. Bridge, E. Pickstone, B. H. Springett, R. H. Teasdel, Ed. M. Phillips, B. Telepneff, H. W. Chetwin, G. W. Bullamore, A. Loftus Brown, Wm. A. McCallum, E. B. Cozens-Brooke, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, A. Heiron, Chas. Curd, P.A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, F. M. Atkinson, W. Young, R. J. Sadlier, F. Bare, D. Forbes, A. E. Wynter, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Henry Massiah, C. F. Sykes, Wm. C. Candy, Percy H. Horley, Percy Green, G. Derrick, H. G. Gold, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., F. W. Le Tall, Robt. Blake, G. W. Richmond, W. H. Rowlands, Geo. W. Sutton, R. Wheatley, S. W. Rodgers, R. F. J. Colsell, E. A. Hudson, and H. A. Matheson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. C. R. Holloway, Calculus Lodge No. 3575; R. Stephenson, Scientific Lodge No. 88; S. A. Sillem, J.W., George Hamilton Lodge No. 3452; A. de C. Myers, Dis.G.R., Jamaica; P. McIntyre, Noel Lodge No. 2444; R. N. Mann, Bowes Park Lodge No. 3119; G. W. South, Rupert Patterson Lodge No. 3646; Lauritz Melchior, of the Grand Lodge of Denmark; and R. L. Moreton, St. Dunstan's Lodge No. 1589.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, I.G.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

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Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

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Two Lodges and Forty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. CECIL POWELL.

A Royal Arch CERTIFICATE issued 24th May, 1824, to John Phillips by Union Lodge No. 119, Boston, U.S.A. Fragments of red wax seal attached to a red ribbon show interlaced triangles with G above, between two pillars connected by an Arch, and above the Arch an irradiated eye. The Lodge has not been identified. It is not on the Roll of the regular Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The Certificate reads as follows:—

I T N O T G A O T U

and

God said Let there be Light, and
there was Light,

And the Light shineth in Darkness, but the Darkness
comprehendeth it not.

To all Most Excellent Brethren

R O Y A L  A R C H ,

Superexcellent Masons,

Round the Globe—We greet you in peace thrice heartily well—Brethren, these presents will certify unto you and our Testimony is borne, for we bear Testimony unto Truth, and it is the Truth that our Trusty Excellent, and well beloved Brother, JOHN PHILLIPS

Has been duly recommended unto Us, and we find that he is endowed with prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, whereupon, We have further initiated him into the Holy Mysteries of ROYAL ARCH SUPEREXCELLENT MASONARY under the sanction of the UNION LODGE, No. 119, held at the George Inn, in the Town of Boston, America; May those Colours which shield the Throne of Mercy from vulgar contemplations illuminate the Soul of our dear Brother, so that he may avoid the rugged path of his Passions, and finally conduct him to the presence of the MOST HIGH, with this Prayer we conduct and recommend him to the justice and regard of all ROYAL ARCH SUPEREXCELLENT Brethren in the Universe.

In consequence of which, We the HIGH PRIEST, &c. &c. confirm this Certificate by signing our Names on it and impressing it with our

Signature, This done in our Grand Chapter this 24th Day May 1824 and in our

Light 5824 and Royal Arch Book of the Law found.

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| WILLIAM COOK | H. Priest. |
| CHARLES HILL | C. General. |
| ISAAC EDWARDS | First L. |
| JOHN EWENS | Second L. |
| HENRY SMITH | Third L. |
| SAMUEL HARRISON. | G. Secretary. |

By Bro. PHILIP CROSSLÉ, Assistant Secretary of the Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin.

Photographs of *Letter from the Grand Mistress* dated 1724. The pamphlet from which these photographs were taken is in the Haliday Collection in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and is the only copy known to exist. The authorship of the pamphlet is usually attributed to Swift, and Dr. Crawley (Introduction to Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*), who was unaware of the existence of the pamphlet, could only suggest that its date was not earlier than 1727 and not later than 1730. Hitherto the letter has only been known by its inclusion in the collected works of Swift.

By Bro. E. H. DRING.

*A New Book of Constitutions for the use of the Lodges in Ireland*, by Ed. Spratt, Secretary, 1761.

By Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT.

LEATHER APRON, printed from an engraved plate and coloured by hand. In the centre of the design is a representation of the Arms of the Antients. A Beehive is shown on the steps at the right. The Apron was "Printed for and Sold by Br. Berring, Church Street, Greenwich."

SILK HANDKERCHIEF printed with a number of Masonic emblems, including a Beehive.

By Bro. C. D. EATON.

SPECIAL CENTENARY JEWEL of the Lodge of Industry and Perseverance No. 109, Calcutta, with well modelled Bee on the ribbon.

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A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

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The following paper was read:—

# THE BEEHIVE AND FREEMASONRY.

*BY BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE.*

In any collection of Masonic glass, pottery or other curios, a number are usually to be found on which the straw beehive, or skep, as it is technically termed, occurs as a decoration. If the young Mason enquires of his brethren what the beehive has to do with Masonry he is usually informed that the bee or beehive represents Industry and was used with that significance by our Masonic forerunners.

As a beekeeper, this explanation made no great appeal to me. The industry of the bee suggests itself on a fine day to the casual observer with no knowledge of bees. More remarkable characteristics pass unnoticed, and the lesson is also unsatisfactory.

The system of beekeeping that formerly prevailed in this country when the production of honey was a necessity, depended on an increase in the number of colonies. The surplus colonies were killed off in the autumn for their stores of honey. Those with the most honey, as well as those with the least, were sacrificed, so that Industry carried with it certain disadvantages. This aspect of affairs was noticed by Shakespeare, who wrote:—

> "Our thighs packed with wax, our mouths with honey,
> We bring it to the hive, and, like the bees
> Are murdered for our pains."
>
> *2 Henry IV., iv. 4.*

A writer in the *Universal Magazine* for May, 1800, thus moralises:—

> "Thou art a fool, thou busy, busy bee
> Thus for another to toil;
> Thy master waits till thy work is done,
> Till the latest flowers of the ivy are gone,
> And then he will seize the spoil.
> He will murder thee, thou poor little bee."

The earliest mention of the Beehive as a Masonic symbol that I have been able to trace, occurs in Jonathan Swift's *Letter from the Grand Mistress* printed in Bro. Henry Sadler's *Reprints and Revelations*:—

> "A Bee hath in all Ages and Nations, been the Grand *Hieroglyphick* of *Masonry*, because it excels all other living Creatures in the Contrivance and Commodiousness of its *Habitation* or *Combe*; as among many other authors Doctor *MacGregor* now Professor of Mathematicks in Cambridge (as our Guardian informeth us) hath learnedly demonstrated; nay *Masonry* or Building, seemeth to be of the very Essence or Nature of the *Bee*, for her building not the ordinary way of all living Creatures is the generative Cause which produceth the young ones (you know, I suppose that *Bees* are of *neither Sex*).

> "For this Reason the Kings of *France*, both *Pagans* and *Christians*, always eminent *Freemasons*, carried three *Bees* for their *Arms*, but to avoid the Imputation of the *Egyptian* Idolatory of worshipping a *Bee*, *Clodovaeus*, their first Christian King, called them *Lilies*, or *Flower-de-Luces*, in which, notwithstanding the small Change made for Disguise Sake, there is still the exact Figure of a *Bee*. You have perhaps read of a great Number of Golden Bees found in the Coffin of a *Pagan* King of *France*, near *Brussels*, many ages after *CHRIST*, which he had ordered should be buryed with him, in Token of his having been a *Mason*.
>
> "The *Egyptians* always excellent and Antient *Free-Masons* paid Divine Worship to a *Bee* under the outward Shape of a *Bull*, the better to conceal the mystery; which *Bull*, by them called *Apis*, is the *Latin* word for a *Bee*; the Ænigma of representing the *Bee* by a *Bull* consisteth in this, that according to the doctrine of the Pythagorean Lodge of *Freemasons*, the souls of all the *Cow-Kind* transmigrate into *Bees*, as one *Virgil*, a Poet, much in favour with the Emperor *Augustus*, because of his profound Skill in *Masonry*, hath described; and Mr. Dryden has thus show'd
>
> *Arieus*
>
> "Four Altars raises, from his Herd he culls
> For Slaughter, Four the fairest of his Bulls,
> Four Heifers from his Female Store he took,
> All fair, and all unknowing of the Yoke;
> Nine Mornings thence with Sacrifice and Prayers,
> The Gods invok'd, he to the Groves repairs.
> Behold a Prodigy! for from within
> The Broken Bowels and the bloated Skin,
> A buzzing Noise of *Bees* his Ears alarms,
> Straight issue thro' the Sides assembling Swarms, &c.
>
> "What *Modern Masons* call a *Lodge* was for the above Reason by Antiquity called a *HIVE* of *Free-Masons*. And for the same Reasons, when a Dissention happens in a *Lodge*, the going off and forming another *Lodge*, is to this day called *SWARMING*."

Sadler gives the opinion of Chetwode Crawley that *A Letter from the Grand Mistress* was published before 1730 but not before 1727.

The Beehive is the emblem of the Lodge of Emulation No. 21, and concerning this the late W.Bro. Henry Sadler, in his history of the Lodge, says:—

> "I regret to find that the existing records throw no light on the subject of the distinctive emblem adopted by the Lodge—the Bee-Hive. It is a very old Masonic symbol and has doubtless been used by the Lodge for a long period; signifying Industry, Perseverance and Diligence it seems to be quite in harmony with the name of the Lodge; it may also have a wider application—that of an orderly and well disciplined community of builders, all working together to the same end."

But as the Lodge of Emulation absorbed an older Lodge, the beehive may have represented the name of that Lodge, viz., 'Constitution.' There is a well-known passage of Shakespeare which attributes ordered government to the bees:—

"So work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The art of order to a peopled kingdom.
They have a king, and officers of sorts,
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home.
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad.
Others, like soldiers, armèd in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds;
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent royal of the emperor:
Who busied in his majesties, surveys
The singing masons building roofs of gold;
The civil citizen kneading up the honey;
The poor mechanic porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate;
The sad-eyed justice with his surly hum
Delivering o'er to executors' pale
The lazy, yawning drone."

*Henry V., 1, 2.*

The beehive and three bees are carved with other emblems on a chair used as a warden's chair by Scientific Lodge No. 88 at Cambridge. Crossed keys below the hive suggest that it was originally a treasurer's chair. The beehive also appears on an old carved chair of Lodge Perfect Friendship No. 376, Ipswich, and on an old chair at Barnstaple.

It occurs with other Masonic emblems on the binding of an old Bible formerly the property of the pre-Union Lodge Attention No. 572. This Bible is now used by Philanthropic Lodge No. 107, King's Lynn.

An interesting jewel was exhibited at the Quatuor Coronati Lodge on 7th January, 1921. This jewel, which is of silver, has engraved upon it I. Euclid 47, and "is supported by a silver bee from what is probably the original hanger formed of silver lace." *A.Q.C.* xxiv., 4.

Another design in which the bee is placed on the hanger is the Calcutta medal of Lodge Industry and Perseverance No. 109.

On a silver medal struck to commemorate the founding of Lodge Jonathan of the Pillar at Brunswick in 1744 the reverse pourtrays a beehive with bees.

On a chart in the possession of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge five beehives are shown arranged symmetrically on a triangular stand. A similar arrangement is to be found on a Masonic chart at Ipswich. Both charts were issued A.L. 5755.

The Illustrations to *Masonic Clothing and Regalia*, by W.Bro. F. J. Crowe, show that the M.M. Apron of the Grand Orient of France and also that of the Grand Orient of Hungary have the beehive very prominently pourtrayed in the centre of the apron. In another example of the Grand Orient of Hungary the beehive is shown on the flap surrounded by a motto in cypher. The translation of the cypher reads "Labor omnia vincit."

In *Masonic Emblems and Jewels*, by W.Bro. W. Hammond, Plate XIV. is an illustration of an apron in the possession of Grand Lodge. This is described as an 'Antient' apron on which are "the emblems of the seven degrees." Among these emblems is the beehive.

An 'Antient' apron formerly used in Royal Clarence Lodge No. 68, Bristol, has come down to us. On this the symbol is prominently displayed.

An interesting apron on which the beehive is depicted is in the possession of W.Bro. John Barker. This apron is said to have belonged to Captain Curry, initiated into Masonry at Sydney, N.S.W., between 1824 and 1828. Bro. Barker also possesses a photograph of another apron on which is the beehive. This apron is said to have belonged to Richard Barnes, initiated August 29th, 1822, in Lodge of Unity No. 71, Lowestoft. Lodge of Unity worked under a 'Modern' Warrant date 1747.

In the illustrations to the article on Tracing Boards by W.Bro. E. H. Dring in *A.Q.C.* xxix., 275, the beehive is shown as occurring on both 1st and 3rd Degree boards:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fig 20 | 7th Light Dragoons (1810) | 1st Deg. |
| ,, 24 | Faithful No. 85, Harleston | 1st ,, |
| ,, 27 | Friendship, Gt. Yarmouth | 1st ,, |
| ,, 62 | All Souls, Weymouth | 1st ,, |
| ,, 35 | Newcastle-on-Tyne (said to have belonged to Industry Swalwell No. 48) | 3rd ,, |
| *A.Q.C.* xxxiv., 4 | Kendal Tracing Board | 3rd ,, |

It also occurs in the 3rd Degree emblems on the Tracing Board of Royal Cumberland No. 41, Bath. W.Bro. Curd has supplied me with the following explanation from the lecture of their eighteenth century ritual:—

> "The Beehive teaches us that as we are born into the world rational and intelligent beings, so ought we also to be industrious ones, and not stand idly by or gaze with listless indifference on even the meanest of our fellow creatures in a state of distress if it is in our power to help them without detriment to ourselves or our connections; the constant practice of this virtue is enjoined on all created beings, from the highest seraph in heaven to the meanest reptile that crawls in the dust."

On the Old Dundee No. 18, Wapping, Tracing Boards the beehive occurs on the board of the 1st and 2nd Degrees combined.

It occurs on the Kirkwall Kilwinning Cloth.

An Irish K.T. Certificate dated 1801 with beehive in right hand margin is illustrated on page 184, *A.Q.C.* xxvii.

Another illustration (*A.Q.C.* xxv., 138) shows a design probably intended for a K.T. Certificate. In this the beehive is prominently figured on a circular pedestal.

The petition of De Vignoles and others, presented to Grand Lodge in 1771 concerning Lodge *L'Immortalitè de l'Ordre* has the beehive twice represented in the design on the cover. This is given as an illustration to W.Bro. Wonnacott's article on this Lodge in *A.Q.C.* xxxiv., 137.

The beehive is sometimes used on Lodge Summonses. That of the Lodge of Probity No. 61, Halifax, is printed from a pre-Union plate.

Lodge of Fidelity No. 289, Leeds, has a design showing a beehive and fifteen bees.

Lodge of Industry No. 48, Gateshead, uses the beehive on the Summons. The block is similar to the vignettes sometimes seen on title-pages of small books.

The Doric Lodge No. 81, Woodbridge, and the Felix Lodge No. 2371 have a beehive among the Masonic emblems which ornament their respective Summonses. The block from which these are printed, however, was acquired by the printer from a typefounder and has no special significance to these Lodges.

On two Lodge Banners belonging to True Blue No. 253, Carrickfergus, the beehive is shown. W.Bro. Lepper informs me that the older of the two banners cannot be earlier than 1785.

The seal of the Lodge Plato, at Wiesbaden, shows a beehive and bees.

As the name of a Lodge it has been used on the Continent, for I find it stated in *Freemasonry in Russia and Poland*, by Dr. E. Friedrichs, that a Lodge "To the Hive" was founded at Thorn in 1793.

Bee Hive Lodge No. 2809 (E.C.) takes its name from the Beehive sign of Lloyds Bank which is again derived from the sign of the house where the bank was first started.

In a *Dictionary of Freemasonry*, by Robert Morris, Chicago, 1867 (second edition 1876) the beehive is given as an emblem in the 3rd Degree.

Dr. Oliver, in his *Dictionary of Symbolical Masonry*, explains the beehive in terms somewhat similar to those used in the Royal Cumberland lecture. According to this author's *Signs and Symbols* the beehive belongs to the "mysterious darkness of the third degree," and the definition is followed by an extract from G. S. Faber's *Mysteries of the Cabiri*.

Mackey in the article 'Beehive,' *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*, says "Freemasons have therefore adopted the beehive as a symbol of industry, a virtue taught in the ritual . . . There seems, however, to be a more recondite meaning connected with this symbol . . . Hence says Faber (*Origin of Pagan Idolatory* ii., 133) 'Both the diluvian priestesses and the regenerated souls were called bees; hence bees were figured to be produced from the carcase of a cow which also symbolised the ark; and hence, as the great father was esteemed an infernal god, honey was much used both in funeral rites and in the mysteries. The Bee was among the Egyptians the symbol of an obedient people, because says Horopollo, of all animals, the bee alone has a King.'"

With regard to this latter statement, a hieroglyphic sometimes described as a bee and said to represent sovereignty occurs on the cartouche of Egyptian monarchs. A few hours spent at the British Museum, however, convinced me that the figure is that of a hunting wasp carrying a caterpillar. The probable meaning, therefore, is "the one that swoops upon and carries off."

The preceding examples of the Beehive in Masonry show that the symbol was kept from the Entered Apprentice in many Lodges. To accept it, therefore, as representing Industry presents a difficulty. If, however, we look upon it as formerly possessing a meaning that fitted it for the 3rd Degree, the loss of such a meaning and the substitution of Industry would cause its transference to the 1st Degree in some Lodges "by a process of intellectual necessity."

As an aid to the discovery of an older meaning an enquiry into the symbolism of the Bee apart from Masonry may be of interest.

In the V.S.L. on the few occasions, other than the incident of the bees in the carcase of the lion slain by Samson, when bees are mentioned, it is to their unwelcome attributes that attention is drawn:—

*Deut.* i., 44. And the Amorites which dwelt in that mountain came out against you and chased you as bees do and destroyed you.

*Psalm* cxviii., 12. They compassed me about like bees.

*Isa.* vii., 18. The Lord shall hiss . . . for the bee that is in the land of Assyria.

In the Septuagint version of the Bible, *Proverbs* vi., 6., "Go to the ant" continues at verse 8 "Or go to the bee and learn how diligent she is and how seriously she does her work—her products kings and private persons use for health—she is desired and respected by all—though feeble in body, by honouring wisdom, she obtains distinction." The sentence is thought to have been added as a gloss by a Greek scribe and afterwards became incorporated in the text. (*Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, C. H. Toy, Edinboro', 1899).

There are some interesting references in old literature in which the bee is recognised as a builder.

Pausanias, who wrote *circa* A.D. 174, makes the following statement:—

> "The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees out of wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo." (Book X., chap v., par 9, J. G. Frazer's translation).

One of the chapters in the Koran is called "The Bee," and Sale's translation contains the following passage:—

> "Thy Lord spake by inspiration unto the bee saying 'Provide thee houses in the mountains and in the trees.'"

In a note to the word 'houses' translated from an Arab commentator it is stated "So the apartments which the bee builds are here called, because of their beautiful workmanship, and admirable contrivance, which no geometrician can excel."

Mahomet also stated that all flies except the bee go to hell-fire.

*The Book of the Bee* was written in Syriac in the early half of the thirteenth century. It has been translated by Wallis Budge, and we find the following explanation of the title of the book:—

> "As the common bee . . . having first collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of man and her own nourishment, in like manner have we the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law."

In *Demands Joyous*, printed in 1511 by Wynkyn de Worde, the following question and answer is given:—

*Dem.*: What is it that is a builder, and yet not a man, doeth what no man can do and yet serveth both God and man?

*Res.*: A bee.

I have already quoted Shakespeare's reference to "the singing masons building roofs of gold."

An appendix to *A Theatre of Politicall Flying Insects*, written by Samuel Purchas and printed in 1657, consists of three hundred "Meditations and Observations, Theologicall and Morall upon the Nature of Bees." Some of these extracts refer to the bee as a builder:—

> "The bees' work is admirable, orderly and geometrically proportionable, all full of wonder, whereas the Waspes and Hornets combes for substances are unprofitable drosse, although they be hexangle cels . . . yet upwards have no beauty . . . The Humble Bees combes are but rude lumps, a little hollowed for their owne end and use. To these three sorts may we compare the obedience of most men professing Religion; there is the obedience of the common Protestant, perhaps somewhat more than a pagane performes, yet a rude and undigested devotion . . . Then there is the obedience of the hypocrite, in many things resembling true devotion . . . Lastly there is the obedience of the true believer . . . exactly modelized and squared according to the rule of Gods Word."

> "If a man would build a Temple or stately Pallace, he must doe it perpendicular, it must be evenly and orderly built according to an exact line both within and without also (and thus geometrically and regularly build the Bees as it were by square and plummet)."

> "They will eate and pare off the rotten waxe, as masons in building pare off the crumbling outside of the weather-beaten stones (and thus make a new front) that they may not after build upon a rotten, noughty or weake foundation."

I am exhibiting some naturally built honeycomb and some models which will show that the esteem in which the bee was held as a builder and geometrician was not without reason. Each comb consists of two layers of hexagonal cells arranged back to back. The partition is not a plane but a collection of rhombs so arranged that three rhombs form the base of each cell. If a pin is stuck

through each of the rhombs at the base of a cell, the points will be found to have penetrated into three different cells on the opposite side of the comb. Thus each cell base is supported by three of the walls of the opposite cells.

Old encyclopædias such as Rees' and the Britannica deal fully with the geometry of the honeycomb:—

> "The geometric form of each individual cell is therefore an hexagonal prism terminated by a trihedral pyramid the three sides of which are rhombs, which meet at their apex by their obtuse angles, and forming oblique angles with the sides of the prism, truncate a portion of these and convert them from rectangles which they would be in a regular prism, into trapeziums."

The work of the bee is usually so uniform and regular that the diameter of the cell was suggested in the eighteenth century as an universal unit of length on the supposition that bees everywhere invariably build cells of the same dimensions. In *The Natural History of Bees*, translated from the French in 1744, the suggestion is ascribed to "Mr. Thevenot, his Majesty's librarian."

In addition to its excellency as a builder, the bee was associated with divinity and the soul. A reference in Pausanias connects them with the Greek mysteries:—

> "Oracle of Trophonius
>
> "This oracle was formerly unknown to the Boetians, they discovered it on the following occasion. No rain had fallen for more than a year, so they despatched envoys to Delphi from every city. When they asked a remedy for the drought, the Pythian priestess bade them go to Trophonius at Lebaden and get the cure from him. But when they were come to Lebaden, and could not find the oracle, Saon of Acraephnium, the oldest of the envoys, saw a swarm of bees (and he advised) that they should follow the bees wherever they went. Straightway he observed the bees flying into the earth here, and (followed) them to the oracle. They say that this Saon learnt from Trophonius the ritual and observances as they are now practised."
>
> IX., 40, 2.

A sacred cave associated with nymphs and bees is described by Homer. The following translation is from Pope's *Odyssey*, Book XIII., line 126:—

> "Where bowls and urns were formed of living stone,
> And massy beams in native marble shone;
> On which the labours of the nymphs were rolled,
> Their webs divine of purple mixed with gold.
> Within the cave the clustering bees attend
> Their waxen works, or from the roof depend,
> Perpetual waters o'er the pavement glide;
> Two marble doors unfold on either side;
> Sacred the south by which the gods descend;
> But mortals enter at the northern end."

This passage is discussed by Porphyry. I quote from Taylor's translation:—

> "Fountains and streams are adapted to aquatic nymphs, and still more so to the nymphs that are souls, which the ancients peculiarly call Bees, as the efficient cause of sweetness. Hence Sophocles does not speak unappropriately when he says of souls:—
>
> In swarms while wandering from the dead,
> A humming sound is heard.
>
> The priestesses of Ceres also, on being initiated into the mysteries of the terrene goddess, were called by the ancients, Bees . . . The moon likewise, who presides over generation, was called by them a Bee, and also a Bull . . . To which may be added that honey is considered a symbol of Death and on this account it is usual to offer

libations of honey to the terrestrial gods, but gall is considered as a symbol of Life; whether it is obscurely signified by this, that the life of the Soul dies through pleasure, but through bitterness the Soul resumes its life; whence also bile is sacrificed to the gods; or whether it is because death liberates from molestation, but the present life is laborious and bitter. All souls however proceeding into generation, are not simply called Bees, but those who will live in it justly, and who, after having performed such things as are acceptable to the gods, will again return to their kindred stars. For this insect loves to return to the place from whence it first came and is eminently just and sober. Whence also the libations which are made with honey are called sober."

In vol. 48 of *Archæologia* the following notes by Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A., accompany an illustration of a carved gem:—

"A red cornelian, acquired at Scardona, presenting a figure—intended for a bee—from whose mouth in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a cadduceus. Now from two passages of Porphyry, it appears that the bee, amongst the worshippers of Mithra, was the special emblem of the soul. As bees, according to the ancient idea were generated by bulls' carcases, so bees, representing the vital principle, sprang from the cosmic bull of Persian mythology. So, too, no fitter emblem could be found for the spirits of men that swarmed forth from the horned luminary of the heavens, the moon, their primal dwelling place, to migrate awhile for their earthly pilgrimage below. In this way, the moon itself was sometimes known in the language of the mysts as the bee."

A note to the above says:—

"An allusion to the same idea will be found on a very interesting engraving on a gold ring from Kertch (in the Siemens collection) representing a bee above a full faced bust of *Deus Lunus*), and it is noteworthy that the bee appears on the coinage of Ephesus the special city of the Asiatic Moon-Goddess.

"On the Roman monuments of the sect a bee is sometimes seen in the mouth of the mithraic lion and the emblem of the soul and connected with this symbolism was the practice of mixing honey in the Eucharistic chalice, and the singular rite performed by the Leontes or lion priests of Mithra of purifying their hands with honey in place of lustral water. From all this it will be seen that the present symbolism of the bee with the well-known symbol of Mercury, the shepherd of departed souls, has a deep mystic significance."

In the middle of the last century, an interesting find was made in a Sardinian grave:—

"A bronze statue of a young man with braided hair and diadem came to light; on his breast were five bronze bees symmetrically arranged."

A. B. Cook, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xv., states that:—

"It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here the bee as a symbol of immortality, if not of re-incarnation."

As an emblem of the soul and immortality the bee appears to have survived into Christian times. In *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, by E. P. Evans, it is stated that:—

"There was hardly a cloister without its hive, which not only supplied honey and wax for culinary and cultic purposes, but also served as an example to the friars of an ideal life of communistic industry and cenobitic chastity. The superiors of the convents were fond of emphasizing this analogy in their exhortations to the recluses under their charge, and of enforcing it in their religious poetry. Peter of Capua calls the risen and ascended Saviour 'apis aetherea,' the saints

famous for good works are compared to bees; eloquent Fathers of the Church and expounders of the faith—Chrysostom, Ambrose, Isidore of Spain, and Bernard of Clairvaux—are said to have lips flowing with honey (*mellifluus*); and the virgin queen of the hive is, in the hymns of mediæval mariolaters, a favourite type of the Virgin Queen of Heaven. But notwithstanding the frequency of these allusions in Christian literature and the consecration of the honey and wax to ritual purposes, the bee figures rarely in Christian art. It is to be found occasionally carved on tombs in the catacombs as a symbol of immortality; in this case, however, it does not express a specifically Christian conception but is a survival of paganism. In ancient times honey was supposed to be an effective antiseptic and it was customary to smear with it the bodies of the dead in order to preserve them from putrefaction. Alexander the Great is said to have been thus embalmed and the same usage formed an integral part of the Mithras-cult, and can be traced still further back to the solar worship of the Assyrians and Babylonians. Under the Roman Empire the mysteries of the Mithra-cult became widely diffused throughout western Europe; Christian churches were erected over altars dedicated to the old Persian sungod as in S. Clemente at Rome, and the gilded bulls' head and three hundred golden bees, discovered at Tournay in 1653, in the tomb of the Merovignian King Childeric III. had their origin in the same system of worship. These bees which decorated the royal mantle of the living monarch and embellished his shroud after death, were invested with a traditional sacredness in France as emblems of Sobriety and therefore adopted by the first Napoleon in order to give a seeming shimmer of ancient lustre to an upstart dynasty."

The only beehive in ecclesiastical architecture that I have been able to hear of in this country is a carving on a misericord in Ely Cathedral. In the centre is a woman kneeling and holding upturned an empty beehive. Another woman grasps a human-headed snake by the hair. On the right are two men seated, drinking and dicing. Beneath is a recumbent figure, perhaps representing intoxication, and a harper. On the left a man and woman are seated in a room with a human-headed snake between them. Taking the bee as the emblem of the soul, I interpret the carving to signify that worldly pleasures destroy the soul.

In Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Plate II., *Everyman*, page 171) is figured a beehive carved over a window at St. Lo, France. The subject of the window is the Annunciation. At Toledo Cathedral there is said to be a carving of a bear and a beehive. There may have been some superstition connected with the carving of the symbol, just as it was considered inadvisable to mention the bees by name among cottage beekeepers of the old school. Within recent years I have heard the difficulty overcome by referring to them as "the little brown people."

*A collection of Hymns consisting chiefly of Translations from the German*, Part III., Second Edition, was published in 1749. It contains the following lines:—

"Chicken blessed and carressed,
Little Bee on Jesu's Breast;
From the Hurry and the Flurry
Of this Earth tho'rt now at rest:
From our Care in lower Regions,
Thou art taken to the Legions,
Who 'bove human Griefs are rais'd;
There thou'rt kept, the Lamb be prais'd!
Chicken blessed and carressed:
Thou that sleep'st on Jesu's Breast."

In 1767 the first four lines were reprinted in the *Bath Guide* as an Ode.

A similar idea occurs in the folk tale related by F.S. in *Notes and Queries*, March 15th, 1851, page 206:—

"I remember, some forty years ago, hearing a servant from Lincolnshire relate a story of two travellers who laid down by the roadside to rest, and one fell asleep. The other, seeing a bee settle on a neighbouring wall and go into a little hole, put the end of his staff into the hole, and so imprisoned the bee. Wishing to pursue his journey, he endeavoured to awaken his companion, but was unable to do so, till, resuming his stick, the bee flew to the sleeping man and went into his ear. His companion then awoke him, remarking how soundly he had been sleeping, and asked what he had been dreaming of? 'Oh!' said he, 'I dreamt that you shut me up in a dark cave, and I could not awake till you let me out.' The person who told me the story firmly believed that the man's soul was in the bee."

Seligmann, in *The Veddas*, gives an invocation to the souls of the dead used by the Veddas of Ceylon when taking honey from wild bees.

Gubernatis, in *Zoological Mythology*, in a note on page 218, says:—

"In the Engadine in Switzerland, too, it is believed that the souls of men emigrate from the world and return into it in the forms of bees."

According to Plato:—

"The souls of sober quiet people untinctured by philosophy come to life as bees and ants." Frazer, *Golden Bough* viii., 308.

"Vishnus (as Haris, the sun and moon) is sometimes represented as a bee upon a lotus-leaf, and Krishnas with an azure bee on his forehead. When the Hindoo take honey out of a hive with a rod, they always hold in one hand the plant toolsy (*ocymum nigrum*) sacred to Krishnas (properly the black one)." *Gubernatis*, p. 217.

"The wax of bees, because it produces light and is moreover used in churches, must also have had its part in increasing the divine prestige of bees and the belief in their immortality, as being those that feed the fire." *Gubernatis*, p. 219.

The bee is hatched from the egg and after five or six days as a white maggot is sealed up in the cell to emerge later as a perfect insect. These facts are utilised by several of the writers quoted by Purchas as being emblematic of the resurrection:—

"The first life of a bee is scarcely worthy to be called a life but after it is transmuted by death it appears in a more excellent and glorious condition."

"The little worm . . . lies dead and entombed, in the cell wherein it was bred; but wait with patience a score of dayes, and you shall see it revive, and appeare a farre more noble creature then it was before. What is this, but an embleme of the resurrection?"

"They (the bees) dye but yet to live more nobly. And death to the godly is not the death of the man, but the death of sinne in the man."

In these extracts by Purchas, honey is sometimes spoken of as emblematic of divinity:—

"I cannot therefore better compare the grave then to the honeycombe where is both honey and waxe. The honey of the soule is taken out the waxe of the flesh remaining behind till the resurrection of just men."

"Isaiah saith of Christ *Butter and Honey shall he eate.* By *honey* some say was designed the Divinitie of his birth and by *butter* his humanity, but foolishly and besides the mind of the Prophet, whose

words are cleare and the sense open. As if he had said *Immanuel* shall not only be a true God, but also a true man, that is, he shall feed of such meates as your children use to eat of."

The foolish individuals admonished by this writer possibly had in mind that the bees represented the soul or life principle of an ox. Honey represented bees and butter the ox. To the ancients, however, there were some occult advantages associated with the use of honey as a food, for it is related by Pausanias (ix., 23, 2) that:—

"The youthful Pindar was once journeying to Thespiae in the hot season at the hour of noon. Weariness and drowsiness overtook him, and he laid down without more ado a little way above the road. And while he slept bees flew to him and plastered honey on his lips. Such was the beginning of his career of song."

St. Ambrose and other eloquent fathers of the Church, as well as Plato and other pagans, are reputed to have received their eloquence from a somewhat similar experience. Huxley, in his autobiography, humorously describes how he just missed it:—

"A neighbouring beehive had swarmed, and the new colony, pitching on the window-sill, was making its way into the room when the horrified nurse shut down the sash. If that well-meaning woman had only abstained from her ill-timed interference, the swarm might have settled on my lips, and I should have been endowed with that mellifluous eloquence which in this country, leads far more surely than worth, capacity, or honest work, to the highest places in Church and State."

Rennell Rodd, in *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, states that an old custom still survives in the island of Rhodes where "the child at the age of eight days has its lips touched with honey by another child who says 'Be thou sweet as this honey.'" According to the same author, honey and water is given to the bride when she first arrives at her husband's door, the door lintel is marked with a cross by the husband, who dips his finger in a cup of honey, bread and honey are eaten by the bride and bridegroom in the presence of witnesses, cakes made with honey are sent to the wedding guests, and unmarried girls offer cakes of honey in caves to the Fates with a view to hastening marriage.

Honey appears to have been a special food of gods and supernatural beings generally. It was an offering to the shades of the dead. Before Ulysses descended into the nether world he poured out an offering of wine, milk, and honey (*Odyssey* xi.). When Iphigenia performed the funeral rites of her brother a similar offering was made:—

"Milk of the mountain Kine,
The hallowed gleam of wine,
The toil of murmuring bees;
By these shall the dead have rest."

(Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, trans. by Gilbert Murray.)

A. B. Cook mentions three sister Fates described in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes: "When they dart along full-fed with yellow honey, they declare the truth with a willing heart; but if they be robbed of the gods' sweet sustenance, then they lie as they hurry to and fro."

In Rees' *Cyclopædia* Bee is said to be "used figuratively to denote sweetness, industry, &c." Thus Xenophon is called the Attic bee, on account of the great sweetness of his style. Antonius got the denomination of *melissa*, or bee, on account of his collection of common places.

"Leo Allatius gave the appellation of *apes urbanae* to the illustrious men at Rome, from the year 1630 to the year 1632."

Frazer, in the *Golden Bough* ii., 135, mentions that "at Ephesus there was a college of sacred men called Essenes or King Bees who held office for a year.

Possibly they were deemed the annual husbands of Artemis whose association with the bee is vouched for by the figures of bees which appear commonly both on her statues and on the coins of Ephesus."

The beehive is the emblem of St. Ambrose and of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, probably in allusion to their eloquence.

*Cinq Livres des Hieroglyphiques*, by Pierre Dinet, 1614, gives several interpretations of the symbolism of bees:—

They are symbolic of people obedient to their King.
They indicate Kings, also eloquence.
They are emblematic of chastity and virginity which is why the church uses their wax, the result of their purity of work.

According to the same writer the beehive represents sweetness overcoming rage, with the addition of the words *Hinc dolor, hinc dulcedo* it signifies pleasure accompanied by vexation.

The same idea occurs in Quarles' *Emblems*:—

"The World's a Hive
From whence thou canst derive
No good, but what thy Soul's vexation brings:
But case thou meet
Some petty-petty-sweet,
Each drop is guarded with a thousand stings."

Charles Butler, in *The Feminine Monarchy*, 1634, says:—

"Bees are said to excel in many qualities so that it is said in the Proverb:

As { Profitable, Laborious, Busy, Loyall, Swift, Nimble, Quick of Sense, Bold, Cunning, Chaste, Neat, Brown, Chilly } as a Bee."

F. E. Hulme, in *Symbolism in Christian Art*, 1892, gives the ant as the emblem of Industry and the bee as the symbol of busy forethought.

The identity of the Fleur de Lys with the bee adopted by Napoleon Bonaparte is a matter difficult to determine. The idea that the fleur de lys was a conventionalised bee seems to have started when the so-called bees were found in the tomb of Childeric in 1653. But it has been contended that these bees were *fleurons* attached to the harness of his war horse. The fleur de lys is also said to have originated in the ornamental end of the *angon* or hatchet placed as a symbol of power in the hand of the heir to the throne of the early French Kings on the occasion of his inauguration. A course of heraldic reading conveyed the idea to me that the bee was really a modern innovation brought about by the first Napoleon and had not preceded the fleur de lys.

In Purchas (1657), however, I find the following:—

"Memorable to this purpose was the practice of a certain King of *France*, who having conquered the *Insubrians* and entered their city, by a symbole or type thus exprest his clemency, wearing a coat full of Images or pictures of *Bees* and this motto written upon it, *Rex mucrone caret*, the King wants or useth not his sting."

Purchas wrote after the opening of the tomb of Childeric, but Fabyan's *Chronicle* of the previous century states that the three fleur de lys were preceded in the arms of France by three "todys," the change being made when Clodovaeus was converted to Christianity. This may not be true, but it seems advisable to leave the identity of the bee with the fleur de lys an open question.

Why has Industry swamped all the other attributes of the bee in modern days? I think it probable that the modern knowledge of bees is derived chiefly from Dr. Watts. Dr. Isaac Watts was invited by Sir Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor of London, to visit him, which he did, his visit to Abney Park and Old Palace House, Cheshunt, lasting for thirty-six years. At Cheshunt Dr. Watts wrote several of his moral songs, and in the garden of Old Palace House is a summer-house in which he is reported by tradition to have written:

"How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour,
And gather honey all the day
From every opening flower."

The walls of the garden contain niches probably intended for beehives, and it is not unlikely that on a fine summer's day the activity of the bees would be very noticeable to the contemplative divine resting in the summer-house. Dr. Watts' *Moral Songs* were published in 1720 and had reached their twenty-first edition in 1752, so that knowledge of them would be well diffused when Freemasons were wanting a meaning for the beehive. The emblem appears to have become popular in the outside world in the latter half of the eighteenth century and is figured on a number of copper tokens about that time. One of these, dated 1793, in my possession has the motto "Industry has its sure reward." I suggest that this influence caused its transference from the third degree to the first.

The meaning having been lost we can never be certain that we have recovered it. But there may be a connection between the five bees symmetrically arranged in the Sardinian grave and the five beehives on the charts of A.L. 5755. But if we limit the meaning of the latter to the points of fellowship we still get the association with the third degree.

On the de Vignoles petition of 1771 the beehive occurs twice. It is given in the main design on the cover and is repeated on one side of this design being balanced by a bust, square, compasses and 24in. gauge on the other side. This may have been intended to suggest the name of the Lodge, viz., the Immortality of the Order.

On the design for a K.T. Certificate the beehive (immortality?) is on the right hand of the Calvary and is balanced by the scythe and hourglass, emblems of mortality, on the left of the figure.

The triangular stand on which the beehives are grouped in the early Charts and also the circular pedestal on which the beehive is placed in the design for a K.T. Certificate may also be intended to suggest the semi-divine or immortal nature of the bee.

On the Summons of Lodge of Fidelity No. 289 the beehive and bees form a circle which encompasses the sun and other emblems.

Such details may be accidental, but a sufficiency of them in early designs would render it highly probable that the meaning associated with the symbol in folklore, religion and the classics was not then entirely ignored by Freemasons.

To account for the beehive in Masonry I make the following suggestions:—

From early times the bee and its architecture was held in very high repute by Masons. The legend that the second temple of Apollo was built by bees suggests that they were held in veneration by the builders of the Greek temples.

Notwithstanding changes of religion and dynasty the early Christian builders derived their knowledge by direct tradition from the builders of the Pagan temples, and with this knowledge came the symbolism of the bee. According to C. W. King, in *The Gnostics and their Remains*, page 192, "the golden Pentagon of Apollo . . . of yore blazed high above the Delphic shrine." This pentagon of Apollo may have come to us with the bees—the

builders of Apollo's temple—and thus account for the arrangement of the five hives in the early Charts. With the formation of Guilds the traditional symbols of Masonry became incorporated in the ceremonies.

Masonic symbols may be divided into two groups, one of which consists of the tools of the Craft, and the other of such objects as are not necessarily associated with building, such as the ark, the beehive, the pentagon, acacia, etc. The latter group may have been derived from the Guild. Assuming that there was symbolic teaching in the Guild then the coffer or chest could be made to symbolise the ark, the pentagon the points of fellowship or the wounds of Christ, while the beehive, which was a practical representation of the highest geometry direct from the Grand Geometrician, may have carried an inner meaning rendering it emblematic of the resurrection. Such a meaning harmonises with the Hiramic legend under Christian teaching, and the preceding extracts show that the idea certainly existed in religion and folklore.

As shown by the examples quoted the beehive symbol had a wide range in Masonry, but it is scarcely necessary to prove that it was at one time universal in order to demonstrate its antiquity.

The Guilds from early times must have accepted non-operatives interested in building, and with the decay, from the operative standpoint, of the Provincial Guilds, the widening of the circle from which members were drawn would lead to the Guilds developing on social lines. If the ceremony of admission was a rehearsal of workshop practices it would be necessary to form a mimic Lodge or workshop (probably devoid of Guild symbols) and the meeting would become a Lodge of Freemasons in the first degree. While the ceremony took place in a Guild Hall actual symbols could be used and the Guild symbols could be restored to the Lodge for the second part of the ceremony. With the transference of the meeting to a tavern or other emergency premises, the drawing of the symbolic objects on the floor would lead eventually to the tracing board. In a few instances the beehive has survived on such boards.

Our late W. Brother C. H. Nicholl informed me that older Masons had told him of Lodges where the beehive was placed with other emblems on the floor of the Lodge. At the Waveney Lodge No. 929 a model of a beehive is still preserved, but I understand that its present situation is the Master's pedestal. Up to the present I have been unable to ascertain the history of the model. The Lodge was not founded until 1862.

A beehive is mentioned in an early inventory of a Lancashire Lodge (Fortitude No. 281).

In London the Guild survived, and we do not know to what extent this affected the Freemasonry which, according to Conder in the *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masonry*, separated from the Guild about the year 1700. The Provincial Non-Operative Lodges would keep alive much of the Guild ceremony from which our third degree may have developed, while the London body, recruited chiefly from Operative Masons, would tend to preserve more fully the workshop practices while possibly discarding much of the latter part of the rite.

At the time of the formation of Grand Lodge there were a number of independent transmissions of Masonry in the provinces, and notwithstanding the trouble caused by the alterations that were made in the signs and passwords, it is possible that some of the difficulties between the Antients and Moderns arose as the result of these fuller traditions being brought to London. To the London Mason anything that had not survived in his own tradition would be an innovation. From this standpoint the Royal Arch would be a part of the transmitted Masonry of the provinces, while in London we may suppose that it had been lost before the severance from the Guild had taken place. There is no reason to suppose that the Warrants of the Antients and Moderns had much effect on the working in the provinces.

The survival of the beehive may have been but partial, having come down with some traditions and not with others. With the steady advance of

London working into the provinces all traditions are being gradually replaced by some variant of the working that arose about a century ago, and in this the beehive is not recognised.

In a lecture delivered before the British Numismatic Society by the President, Grant R. Francis, Esq., it was stated that the bee sometimes replaces the butterfly on certain glasses where it appears in conjunction with the rose of York or other Jacobite emblems. The meaning was given as "The Return of the Soul," equivalent to the 'REVIRESCIT' on certain Jacobite medals.

Mr. Francis has very kindly furnished me with the text of the part of the lecture referring to the bee. From this I quote the following:—

> "What more beautiful and typical emblem could be used after his defeat at Culloden and his escape in 1746, than to add the butterfly or the bee to the emblems of the cause for use when toasting 'The Return of the Soul' of the movement? . . .
>
> "Finally, no less than three families of the Stuart clan in Scotland (Stuart of Gairntully, Stuart of Balcaskie, and Stuart of Tongorth) use one or two bees as their crest to this day."

Now if the recognised meaning of the bee or beehive among well-informed Freemasons was immortality or the return of the soul, and the emblem was adopted after Culloden by the Jacobites to signify the return of the Pretender, the soul of the Jacobite cause, it is easy to understand that the symbol would tend to disappear owing to its political significance. Where it was too firmly established, the popularity of Dr. Watts' lines would suggest an alternative meaning, and with a desire for consistency some Lodges would associate Industry with the Entered Apprentice degree.

At the Union its symbolism and correct place in the working may well have been a bone of contention. It failed to gain recognition at this time, and with the standardisation of the tracing board it disappeared from the Lodge.

The Beehive in Masonry does not appear to have attracted much attention among early Masonic writers and much valuable material has doubtlessly been lost already. I have brought the subject forward now in the hope that, although this paper may fail to establish much of definite value concerning this symbol, the attention drawn to it may stimulate interest and lead to the bringing to light of hitherto unrecorded facts before it is too late.

My thanks are due to the Secretary and other brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge for the help that they have so freely given and also to the Lodge Secretaries and other brethren who have supplied me with information.

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A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Bullamore, and comments were offered by or on behalf of Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, Sir Alfred Robbins, Gordon Hills, Dr. John Stokes, Philip Crosslé, W. J. Williams, G. W. Daynes, B. H. Springett, A. Heiron, E. H. Dring, J. E. S. Tuckett, C. W. Rippon, and J. G. Finlayson.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER said:—

The paper with which Bro. Geo. W. Bullamore has just favoured us can, I think, be fairly described as suggestive. It is not at all exhaustive in the examples quoted of the use of the beehive as an emblem on Masonic prints, although enough has, perhaps, been included to show the prominence of this feature. I might just mention as an instance of one omission the well-known chart, which hangs in so many Lodge rooms, published by John Harris, Broad Street, Bristol, 1839, and inscribed: "To the Most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons this plate is humbly dedicated by your obed$^{t}$. Serv$^{t}$. & B$^{r}$. W$^{m}$. Brodrick, 5839," on which is depicted a beehive with seven bees.

I must confess that although I had previously read Maurice Maeterlinck's *Life of the Bee* and Tickner Edwardes's *Lore of the Honey Bee* the idea had never occurred to me that the bee's skill as a comb-builder could have been associated in the minds of our ancient Brethren with the technicalities of their own Craft. Nevertheless, the suggestion carries conviction. The sealing of the ends of hexagonal cells with triple rhombs having angles of 109° 28′ and 70° 32′ is a triumph of scientific skill, as these are exactly the requirements for enclosing the largest cubical capacity with the smallest amount of material.

It is natural that in my own walk of life a problem of this kind should appeal to me. As to the other points raised in the paper, I leave them to be dealt with by Brethren who have special interests and qualifications in these directions. My particular duty and pleasure is to move a very cordial vote of thanks to Bro. Bullamore.

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Bro. JOHN STOKES said:—

The Drone-fly, *Eristalis tenax* (*Syrphidae*), closely resembles the honeybee. The swarm of drone-flies issuing from the decaying flesh of an ox were mistaken for bees, and from this circumstance the legend arose. It is very ancient; Virgil (*Georgics*, Book IV.) states that his account came from Egypt. It is also mentioned by Varro, Ovid, and by the elder Pliny in his Natural History Book XI.: "If there is one thing the honeybee abhors more than another, it is carrion of any description." As the bee manifestly cannot spring from putrescent matter, it is obvious that the cloud of drone-flies rising up and rapidly flying away were never followed in their flight so as to ascertain if they actually did become honeybees. In ancient times, as well as in modern ones, a statement once made by a writer of eminence was copied by every other writer on the subject until at last everybody believed it and no one thought of making any experiment by which to verify or refute it. Nevertheless, it is very pleasant to read the charming old-world ideas. The idea of a King-bee, as shown in Henry V., 1, 2, may have been taken by Shakespeare from the description copied from Pliny in Lyly's Euphues, as is also the account of the rigid discipline maintained in the hive. Perhaps his best remarks are on the necessity of cleanliness on the part of the person who takes the honey, and the caution against malefactors approaching the hive. In Celtic times Britain was called the Isle of Honey, and Pytheas, who about 600 B.C. came looking for new trade openings, says that the Britons drank a mixture brewed from wheat and honey. Until the sugar cane industry (now beet root) came into vogue, honey was always used for sweetening purposes.

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Bro. C. WALTON RIPPON *writes*:—

Bro. Bullamore is to be congratualetd both on his choice of a subject and his treatment of it.

I have seen the Beehive on the Third Degree Tracing Boards of several of our Northern Lodges. The quotation from *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture* is very interesting as to the communistic industry, but the idea is amplified and raised to a higher plane in the following extract from *The Oddfellow* (American) of 1842:—"What a beautiful emblem of the power of association, order, and industry in the promotion of good works! As in heraldry, the good qualities only are counted, and the evil dropped, so in this emblem we see only what is good and worthy of imitation. Subordination and good government, proper distribution of tasks and labors, gathering sweets from even the refuse of life, and honey from poisonous weeds, and unity of purposes and works for the interests and welfare of all. It thus admonishes us to avoid indolence, and wisely improve our time. It teaches us the important lesson, that if we would pass the winter

of our age in comfort and cheerful abundance, we must improve the summer of our being under the guidance of economical and well directed industry."

The origin of the fleur de lys is attributed by Jennings in *The Rosicrucians* to the nails of the Passion Cross.

In a book which is too little known outside his own town, published at Liverpool in 1869, under the title of *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names*, Dr. Thos. Inman says, at p. 448:—"A BEE was chosen as the cognomen of a prophetess, DEBORAH, who retailed 'the word,' and the insect has been adapted by Christians as an emblem of 'the word' and the Trinity."

Tickner Edwardes, in the introduction to *The Lore of the Honey Bee*, says that beekeeping "is inevitably and literally the oldest craft under the sun. Thousands of years before the Great Pyramid was built . . . it must have been common knowledge that a beehive, besides its toiling multitudes, contained a single large ruling bee, divine exemplar of royalty; for how else would the bee have been chosen to represent a King in the Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols?"

A little later he says: "All is sacrificed for the good of the State. The individual is nothing; the race is everything. 'Thorough' is the motto of the honeybee."

In chapter xii. he continues: "The word 'Freemasonry,' in the English tongue, has grown to be a synonym for the truest fraternity; but just as real, and almost as far reaching, is the brotherhood among Keepers of bees."

Although it really does not affect the subject under consideration it is very interesting to read what Mr. Edwardes has to say on the matter of bees and oxen, and how he corrects the statements of Varro, who wrote half-a-century before Virgil, of Virgil, Pliny and Ovid, showing that the drone-fly was by them mistaken for the honeybee.

Bro. Bullamore has, I consider, earned our thanks by his extremely interesting treatment of the subject, which is one that I have not hitherto seen or heard discussed in Masonic circles.

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Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes *writes*:—

Everything that can be gleaned as to the connection between the Beehive and Freemasonry should possess considerable interest to every Masonic Student. It certainly interests me, not only on account of the disappearance of the Beehive as an emblem in Freemasonry, but also because a large number of the Lodges referred to by Bro. Bullamore are located in East Anglia. In East Anglia the Beehive was clearly a First Degree emblem, until discarded, whereas, in the North of England, and at Bath, it seems to have been confined to the Third Degree. When considering questions of ritual and ceremonies, it seems to me highly important to consider any facts that can be gathered from the practices of our Brethren in the U.S.A., or on the Continent, in any of those early Lodges constituted prior to the time when the Grand Lodge of England is said to have altered its Ceremonies. Just as the fact that, under the Netherland Constitution, the words and signs of the First and Second Degrees are the same as those of English Freemasonry but reversed, and have been considered as valuable evidence of alteration in English Ritual, so may evidence showing the meaning assigned to the Beehive, as an emblem, in the ceremonies of U.S.A. Lodges, be of equal value, especially remembering that in that country there has been no Union and, therefore, no compromise. I have not been able to consult any early rituals emanating from the U.S.A., but could only consult Jabez Richardson's *Monitor of Freemasonry*, published in Philadelphia between 1860-1865. I admit it is not the best class of evidence, but as the portions I propose quoting are confirmed to a great extent by the American Lexicons of Freemasonry, quoted from by Bro. Bullamore, I venture to adduce it. In the third section of the Lecture on the Master Mason's Degree, the Beehive finds its place amongst the emblems of that degree, and is explained as follows:—

> The BEE-HIVE is an emblem of industry, and recommends the practice of that virtue to all created beings, from the highest Seraph in heaven to the lowest reptile of the dust. It teaches us, that, as we came into the world rational and intelligent beings, so we should ever be industrious ones; never sitting down contented while our fellow creatures around us are in want, when it is in our power to relieve them without inconvenience to ourselves.

The similarity between this explanation and that given in the Ritual of the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, Bath, is most striking, and clearly denotes a common origin. There is no hint that this emblem meant 'Immortality,' or 'the return of the Soul,' and I believe further proofs can be furnished that the explanation above referred to was that given to Freemasons at the time when Freemasonry was carried across the Atlantic to the New World.

Bro. Bullamore has put forward a design for a K.T. Certificate, whereon there is the Beehive on the right hand of the Calvary and the Scythe and Hourglass on the left; and deduces therefrom the contrasting of mortality with immortality. This, I venture to suggest, was not the intention of the designer. Just as the Beehive was an emblem of the Third Degree in American Freemasonry, so also was the Scythe and Hourglass. In Richardson's *Monitor* they are referred to as emblems of time and human life respectively. The designer of the Certificate was doubtless acquainted with American Ritual, and no deeper meaning for the Beehive was present to his mind than that given above.

If it could be conclusively proved that the Beehive was an emblem of the Third Degree, when Freemasonry passed over to America, then we may say with a certain amount of safety that it was taken from that Degree and transferred to the First at a later date; perhaps after the introduction of Tracing Cloths, and because the emblem of industry appeared more appropriate to the Degree of the Entered Apprentice. The Beehive would not be unique in this respect, and I would instance the Trowel as a somewhat parallel case. In American Freemasonry the Trowel was, and still is, the especial working tool of the Master Mason. In England we have, I believe, no very early records telling us to which Degree this tool was assigned, but in the Minutes of the Lodge constituted at the Maid's Head Inn at Norwich, in 1724, there is an entry showing that Bro. Jay Bracey presented to that Lodge "an elegant Jewel to be worn by the Junior Master Mason." If this was, as I believe, the Trowel, the entry is some slight evidence of a similarity of ritual between the two countries. At any rate, to-day, Union Lodge No. 52, and certain other Lodges in Norwich, invest each Initiate with an Entered Apprentice's Jewel, being the Trowel. Scientific Lodge No. 88 also invest their Initiates with the Trowel Jewel, but in a slightly different manner. Except in the Lodges just mentioned, the Trowel has disappeared as an emblem in Craft Freemasonry. Just when it was transferred from the Third Degree to the First Degree we do not know; neither have I seen any reasons given for its disuse. I trust I shall not be considered to have wandered from the subject of the paper, but I have been much struck by the similarity between the fate of these two emblems—the Beehive and the Trowel.

The Beehive was certainly used as an emblem by the Moderns far more than by the Antients, and I venture to give one or two more examples of its use by some of the more venerable Lodges. The Westminster and Keystone Lodge No. 10 possesses a copy of the 1784 Edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, bound in crimson Morocco and adorned with Masonic emblems, amongst which figures the Beehive. The Old Dundee Lodge No. 18 possessed a Summons engraved by Benj$^{n}$. Cole for the Lodge about 1750, which displayed a Beehive upon the centre pillar. The Globe Lodge No. 23, and the Anchor of Hope Lodge No. 37, both possessed engraved Summonses upon which the Beehive and seven Bees were displayed. The latter one was engraved in 1767, and had several features similar to the other one. Lastly, I would draw attention to the Warrant of the Lodge of Amity No. 283, Haslingdon, dated the 14th June,

1791, and signed by the Provincial Grand Master for the County of Lancaster. Upon this Warrant the Beehive appears at the bottom, upon the lowest of three steps. It does seem that, as the Beehive disappeared at the time of the Union in 1813, it must have been an emblem which had never been officially recognized by the Antients. Bro. Bullamore, in his examples of the use of the Beehive, brings forward very few by the Antients, and unless further examples are forthcoming of its use upon Tracing Boards, Summonses, etc., by Lodges under the Antients Grand Lodge I prefer to believe that the disuse was due to non-recognition by that Grand Lodge rather than to its political significance, as suggested. The whole subject is one that has been awaiting discussion, and I am sure all students should be grateful to Bro. Bullamore for bringing the subject forward in such an attractive way.

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Bro. JOHN J. FINLAYSON *writes*:—

Many thanks for sending me the rough proof of Bro. Bullamore's paper *re* "The Beehive and Freemasonry."

I am unable to state when the 'Beehive' was first adopted as an emblem for the Lodge of Industry, but I shall make further enquiries on the point.

1. The Lodge of Industry is supposed to have emanated from Winlaton, where Sir Ambrose Crowley had his ironworks until 1816, when the works were closed, and the manufactures were transferred to Swalwell and Winlaton Mill.
2. The first entry in the Minutes naming "Swalwell" as the place of meeting says: "At a Lodge held at Brother Thompson's at Swalwell, when the Lodge was constituted by Mr. Joseph Laycock, Provincial Grand Master."
3. The Lodge was first named as the "Lodge of Industry No. 61" in Swalwell on 29th September, 1778.
4. The meeting places can be traced to:—

   Winlaton in 1725;
   "The Two Fencers" at Swalwell in 1735;
   "The Rose & Crown" at Swalwell in 1777;
   &c. &c.

   The Half Moon Inn at Gateshead in 1845;
   Masonic Hall, Jackson Street, Gateshead, since 23rd January, 1882.
5. In April, 1845, when the transfer took place from Swalwell to Gateshead, the Committee reported that "several jewels and articles of Furniture were required, and it was agreed that voluntary contributions be asked."

This seems to show that the Tracing Boards might have been missing at the time of the transfer, and probably this fact originated the tradition that the circular Tracing Boards at Newcastle formerly belonged to the Lodge at Swalwell.

I hope to make further enquiries on this point also.

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Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT *writes*:—

The remarkable passage in Dean Swift's *Grand Mistress*, of which the date, hitherto uncertain, is now known to be 1724, is alone sufficient to establish the fact that the Bee and Beehive were recognized symbols in some branch of Freemasonry at the dawn of what we call the Grand Lodge Era, and it is also clear that a few years later they were known to our Brethren on the Continent. The value of the *early* Continental Masonic records and remains, as evidence concerning British customs and practice at a still earlier time, has never been fully realized by English-speaking Masonic students, and the fact that the Bee

and Hive occur in Brunswick so soon as 1744 may be regarded as an indication that they were part of the Masonry which passed over from our country in 1725, if not before that date.

The medal referred to claims to have been struck in 1744 in honour of the establishment in that year of the Lodge 'Jonathan of the Pillar' at Brunswick. The most prominent feature on the Reverse is a Beehive resting on a square Pillar and surrounded by Bees. On the right in the distance is a growing tree, and in the foreground is a broken tree-trunk. For the suggestion that this medal is not contemporary with the event it records and was really struck at the centenary of the Lodge in 1844 I can see no justification whatever. On the Obverse and on the right just above the exergue there is the signature of the medallist, which, according to the printed Catalogue of the Worcestershire Masonic Library and Museum (Taylor and Hughan, 1891, p. 101), is I.L.H. Although I have some knowledge of the medals of this period I could not identify these initials, and suspected the work to be by Johann Carl Hedlinger. At my request Bro. John Campbell, Secretary and Treasurer to the Worcestershire M.L. & M., kindly examined the medal, and he assures me that the letters are really I.C.H. and not as in the Catalogue. We may therefore take it that the medal is by Hedlinger, who was born in 1691 and died in 1771, and that it is authentic and of date 1744.

That the Beehive and Bee had their place in our Craft Symbolism in the first half of the eighteenth century cannot be denied, but it is not quite so certain what exactly was the interpretation or meaning then assigned to them. It does not appear to have been solely or even especially connected with the idea of 'Industry.' Later these symbols may be said to have disappeared almost entirely from English Freemasonry, although, as we know, they have survived here and there even with us. But—and this is a very important point—only one idea concerning the Hive and Bee seems to have been associated with the continued use of the symbols, and that is the belief in the alleged 'industry' of 'the little brown people,' which is (as Bro. Bullamore reminds us) more particularly prevalent amongst observers who have no knowledge of bees. Not least in interest amongst the many points raised in this paper is the question why this supposed attribute of the bee has swamped all the other possible explanations of its presence amidst Masonic emblems.

Apart from Masonry the symbolism of the Bee and Hive has from the earliest times been connected with the belief in the Soul of Man, Rebirth, Reincarnation, Resurrection, Immortality and kindred ideas with which may be conjoined the use of the Bee as an emblem of 'Hope.' The author of the paper contends that the Immortality of the Soul was the original meaning in Freemasonry also, and he brings a mass of evidence to support his view that originally the symbols were used in that portion of our ceremonies which we now know as the Third Degree, and all will probably agree that he has gone very far towards proving his case. Dean Swift's reference in the *Grand Mistress*, although somewhat obscure, is in favour of Bro. Bullamore's view, and this, in Ireland in 1724, is an additional indication that the Hiramic Legend was not a *post*-1717 importation into the body of Masonry due to the newly-created Grand Lodge. Unless I have mistaken the author's meaning, he goes further than this, and holds that the Bee-Symbolism in Masonry is an indication that the Hiramic Legend *with a Christian Interpretation* was a feature of *pre*-Grand Lodge Craft working, and that it came through or descended from the Guild. Perhaps in his reply Bro. Bullamore will be able to develop this part of his paper a little more fully.

It is undoubtedly true that the Jacobite Party adopted the Bee as an emblem to signify that their Cause after Culloden was not dead and that it would rise again, or, in other words, the Immortality of the Stuart Cause. One of the most interesting of the many Jacobite medals is that by T. Pingo, known as the 'Oak Medal,' struck in 1750. The Obverse has the bust of Prince Charles Edward to the right without legend. On the Reverse, a leafless blasted tree, from its root springing a vigorous young sapling, legend

REVIRESCIT, in the exergue the date 1750. In 1750 the Stuart hopes were again running high, and it is confidently stated that regardless of risk the Prince was in London for a week or more conferring in person with his friends. According to the Prince's own account it was during this visit that he abjured the Roman Obedience and conformed to the Church of England. The blasted tree and sapling of the Oak Medal may be compared with the growing tree and broken trunk of the Brunswick Medal of 1744. The idea of the symbolism is probably the same, namely, renewal or resurrection, but there is no suggestion that the Jonathan Medal is in any sense Jacobite.

With his usual kindness Bro. Dring has allowed me to examine the very important Manuscript in French, written in 1776, to which he has referred, and which he this evening exhibits to the Brethren of this Lodge. I have made a translation and I have devoted much time to its many points of exceptional interest. It opens with an account of the formation of 'an English Lodge of St. John named *de la Fidelité*' at Chartres on 23rd February, 1776. This Lodge was constituted by the '*Grande Loge Angloise de France de St. Jean*' named '*de la Constance*,' and this was done 'By Virtue of the powers which have been granted to Us by the Jacobite Grand Lodge of St. John of London named of the Chevalier Charles.' The Warrant or Deputation (*Lettres Pattentes*) follows, and a rather feeble essay 'On the origin of Masonry,' and next the full Ritual of the Three Degrees as they were to be worked in the new Lodge. The Initiate takes his Obligation on the 'Book of the Holy Gospel' (St. John) and at the moment of Reception the W.M. of the Lodge says:—

> We, Grand Master of this Lodge, by Virtue of the powers conferred upon Us by the Very Venerable and Very Dear and Very Worshipful Grand Master CHARLES EDWARD STUART, King of Scotland and Ireland . . . imprint upon you the Mark of a Mason so that you may be recognized as such all the World over.

Then come specimens of Summons Forms, particulars about banquets, instructions as to visiting Brethren, the Laws and Regulations of the Mother Lodge *de la Constance*, and finally a very interesting list of more than sixty Lodges under the same obedience with the names of their Masters and in many cases dates of constitution. The earliest date thus recorded is 1746.

In May, 1905 Bro. Henry Sadler announced to this Lodge his remarkable discovery of 'An Unrecorded Grand Lodge in London' (see *A.Q.C.* xviii., p. 69). We now hear of yet another 'Grand Lodge of London,' namely 'The Jacobite Grand Lodge of St. John of London named of the Chevalier Charles' with the Young Pretender for Grand Master and presumably existing at the time of the 1745 Rebellion, but it does not necessarily follow that this was actually located *in* London.

Bro. Dring's MS., which is thus of Jacobite as well as Masonic interest, includes a number of full-page and smaller pictures drawn by hand, and these are of considerable artistic merit. The Frontispiece includes a large Beehive surrounded by Bees, and this is repeated in another illustration on a later page.

We have seen that the original interpretation of these emblems when employed in Masonry was mainly connected with Immortality and Resurrection, and that after the crushing disaster of Culloden the Jacobites took over the same symbols and gave them a political colouring to signify their Hope of a Revival of the Stuart Cause. This 'Hope' never entirely disappeared (although it had long ceased to be a menace to the established government) until the death of Prince Charles Edward on 30th January, 1788, and even then his younger brother, the Cardinal Duke of York, assumed the title 'Henry IX.' and issued a medal by G. Hamerani with the legends 'Hen. IX. Mag. Brit. Fr. et Hib. Rex. Fid. Def. Card. Ep. Tusc.' and 'Non Desideriis Hominum sed Voluntate Dei.' It is during this period that we notice the general disappearance of the Bee and Beehive from Freemasonry in our own country and that where they do survive they are transferred to the E.A. Degree with no

more than a rather tame and unconvincing lesson concerning 'Industry,' the other and deeper interpretation being rejected presumably because of its political association. We notice, however, that the Hive and Bee continue to occupy a prominent place in a Masonic organization whose members were attached to the Stuart Cause and who recognized Prince Charles Edward (the Jacobite 'Charles III.') as their Grand Master, and which organization existed from about 1745 to 1776 or later.

Bro. Bullamore has been fortunate in the choice of a very interesting and important subject which has hitherto been treated with unmerited neglect, and he is heartily to be congratulated upon the success of a most instructive and suggestive paper which has been greatly appreciated by all privileged to read it or to hear it read.

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Bro. G. Trevelyan Lee *writes*:—

I send an extract from *The True Masonic Chart or Hieroglyphic Monitor*, by Jeremy L. Cross, published in New Haven, 1826, which deals with an aspect of last night's paper that was not quite touched upon. It is under the heading of "Master Mason":—

> "The Bee Hive
>
> "Is an emblem of Industry, and recommends the practice of that virtue to all created beings, from the highest seraph in heaven, to the lowest reptile of the dust. It teaches us, that as we came into the world rational and intelligent beings, so we should ever be industrious ones; never sitting down contented while our fellow creatures around us are in want, when it is in our power to relieve them, without inconvenience to ourselves.
>
> When we take a survey of nature, we view man, in his infancy, more helpless and indigent than the brutal creation: he lies languishing for days, months, and years, totally incapable of providing sustenance for himself, of guarding against the attack of the wild beasts of the field, or sheltering himself from the inclemencies of the weather. It might have pleased the great Creator of heaven and earth, to have made man independent of all other beings; but, as dependence is one of the strongest bonds of society, mankind were made dependent on each other for protection and security, as they thereby enjoy better opportunities of fulfilling the duties of reciprocal love and friendship. Thus was man formed for social and active life, the noblest part of the work of God; and he that will so demean himself, as not to be endeavouring to add to the common stock of knowledge and understanding, may be deemed a *drone* in the *hive* of nature, a useless member of society, and unworthy of our protection as masons."

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Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump *writes*:—

I have been much interested in Bro. Bullamore's paper, and it is with regret I must forego the pleasure of hearing it read. I regard it as a valuable addition to present research concerning our Tracing Board symbols, though unconvinced as to his deductions. The main question seems to be whether the symbolism should attach to the insect or the hive. Usually it is the hive (without its industrious inhabitants) which is depicted on Tracing Boards, although (as Bro. Bullamore points out) there are a few exceptions; but apart from the hive the bee itself is never represented. Unfortunately, Bro. Bullamore omitted to enlighten us as to the history of the skep, or as to artificial hives used by apiarists in other countries. Classical authors have unfortunately seldom discriminated between a honeycomb and an artificial

habitation for bees, and one would like to know whether a Latin *alvus* or a Greek ῞YPON resembled a skep either in shape or material. Bro. Bullamore, on the other hand, seems to assume that the skep was adopted somehow as a conventionally substituted symbol for the bee or bees. Hence the main theme of his paper is an investigation of possible symbolic significations of the bee as constituting an origin for a derived Masonic application of the bee-hive. That the Lodge of Industry, at Gateshead, should be emblematically represented as a hive (or ought we not to say *swarm*?) of bees, in the same sense as suggested by Bro. Sadler in reference to the Lodge of Emulation, is quite natural; and it would show that the hive as an emblem of industry was familiar in the early eighteenth century if the Lodge 48 had adopted that title before 1776 (it was, I believe, known previously as "The Two Fencers, Swalwell") or had used a skep as part of the design upon its summons-notices prior to that date. But can that be shown?

The fundamental distinction remains that, whilst the comb is constructed by the bees themselves for their own use, the skep is constructed for them by others. Thus the skep exactly corresponds in purpose to the buildings which our operative predecessors erected for monastic or ecclesiastic users. Surely its reference, when depicted on Tracing Boards, was to the builders, not the occupiers. The marvellous mathematical instinct displayed by bees in their own communal and symmetrical constructions would have been far more appropriately symbolized by a honeycomb than by a skep; whilst as an emblem of that metamorphosis associated with the idea of resurrection the butterfly would have been more obvious than the bee, and does, in fact, occur in this very connection in the famous mosaic (thought to be Masonic by some enthusiasts) which was discovered at Pompeii in 1874.

Dean Swift's statement that the Egyptian Apis-bull was really a bee must not be taken seriously, but there is a curious tautophony, suggestive of a punning connection, in the three Greek words μέλιττα (=a bee) Μυλίττα (=Mylitta; the name ascribed by Herodotus to a Babylonian goddess cognate to the Ephesian "Diana"), and μελέτη (=attention, or care), which might repay exploration; even if only as accounting for the numismatic use of the bee at Ephesus or of the hive by the Lodge of Attention formerly existent at King's Lynn.

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Bro. W. J. Williams said:—

One of the great advantages possessed by this Lodge is that owing to the comprehensiveness of its organization, and especially to the thousands of Members of the Correspondence Circle and their distribution in so many parts of the Globe, there is hardly any subject likely to arise where there is not some one available with expert knowledge.

The paper read to-night is an instance of this. Our Bro. Bullamore is a recognised expert in the Craft of Beekeeping and its incidents. Thus those of our number who do not keep a bee may receive reliable information on his special subject.

The skilfully directed diligence which has resulted in our Brother's paper is evident from first to last.

When I heard some months ago that this subject was to come before the Lodge I began to note the various points which might arise, but I was not surprised to find that our Brother's paper more than covered most of the items which had occurred to me.

One of the authorities quoted in the paper is the Appendix to *A Theatre of Politicall Flying Insects* written by Samuel Purchas in 1657. This Appendix was (with slight omissions and but few alterations) reprinted by Samuel Bagster, jun., about the middle of the nineteenth century, and as I had a copy of this reprint I noted various passages which might be deemed to have an allusion to Masonic lines of thought.

Probably considerations of space excluded certain of such passages from the paper. I venture to submit that it would be an advantage to have the whole of the passage containing the phrase: "If a man would build a Temple, &c." It begins: "Now though a man may (hand over head as they say) make some hasty and tumultuous doings patch up a great deal of mud together to make a wall not caring for a square to make it perpendicular (as the humble bees rudely compose their combs hand over head without any great care or art) yet if a man would build a Temple &c."

The allusions to working tools in this passage include "a rule," "a square," and "a plummet."

Any Freemason reading this book and coming across this and other passages could not fail to be struck with such allusions, and it is not impossble that this book led to the Beehive being adopted as a Masonic symbol.

The next quotation in the paper speaks definitely of the procedure of "masons in building." The early part of the same passage begins: "Bees when they go forth in a swarm will sometime be provided of a habitation beforehand." This sounds very much like the procedure observed in founding a new Lodge.

On page 166 of the reprint is a passage which has a parallel in our Inner and Outer Guards, viz.: "Bees observe a martial posture in all their carriages; some keep guard at the gates, others like scouts watch at a remoter distance, some within the hive, as soldiers in garrison, observe who goes in and out."

The high ideals of Freemasonry find worthy expression in a passage on page 124 of the reprint, viz.: "Bees of all politic creatures most unanimously comply and combine together, live and love together, mutually protect and provide for one another, always agree among themselves, and act and work all for the public good and welfare of the whole body; they (as it were) throw down all enclosures, lay all in common, not selfish, look not to their own things but on the things of others, tendering their well-doing as their own, neither are they apt to give offence carelessly, nor to take it causelessly."

Probably Samuel Purchas had no intentional Masonic meaning when he penned these passages, but the fact that the study of bees induced those thoughts shows clearly that the Beehive and Bees are very apt Masonic symbols.

Passing from Purchas to Alexr. Pope, who is usually admitted to be a Freemason, there is a passage in the *Essay on Man* (Epistle III.):—

> Go from the creatures thy instructions take:
> Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield
> Learn from the beasts the physic of the field:
> Thy arts of building from the bee receive
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Learn each small people's genius, policies,
> The ants' republic and the realm of bees;
> How those in common all their wealth bestow
> And anarchy without confusion know;
> And these for ever, though a monarch reign,
> Their separate cells and properties maintain.

Such things as these are quite sufficient in themselves to justify and account for the Beehive being adopted by the Craft, and although it is interesting to find in our Brother's paper many recondite references to the Symbolism of the Bee, I venture to doubt whether such remote allusions had anything to do with Masonry. It will be remembered that one species of Bees is called the Mason Bee.

In *A Collection of Masonic Odes* printed at the end of *A Defence of Freemasonry* in Bro. Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations* (page 64) the following lines occur:—

> The Bee that can make the most Honey
> Is fairly the Flower of the Swarm.

The author of that is Brother C. Smart, A.M., and it would seem that he intended a comparison between the Antients and the Moderns.

In the *Freemason's Quarterly Review* for 1854 is an article by the well-known naturalist Rev. J. G. Wood on "Masonic Symbols: The Hive."

Bro. Bullamore states: "On the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18 Wapping Tracing Boards the beehive occurs on the board of the 1st and 2nd Degrees combined." I fear that our Brother has been misled. The Portable Tracing Board depicted in Bro. Heiron's book does not appear to belong to that Lodge at all—although the words "Old Dundee Lodge No. 18" appear at the foot of the illustration. That only means that the illustration belongs to the book. Page 175 is alluded to, and there Bro. Heiron says that the Board in question was recently shown to him by a Provincial Grand Officer who received it about twenty years ago from a Past Master of an old Lodge at Oxford.

The same book depicts certain small Tracing Boards which apparently are used by that Lodge, but there are separate boards for the first and second degrees and no hive on any of them.

It should, however, be observed that the Hive is prominently depicted in the beautiful engraved plate for Summons engraved by Benjamin Cole for the Dundee Arms Lodge No. 9 (*circa* 1750). This is reproduced opposite page 209 of Bro. Heiron's book entitled *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18.* Is there any illustration of the Symbol which can have an earlier date assigned to it?

Our Brother refers to a carving of a Bear and a Beehive in Toledo Cathedral. There is a beautiful old marble mantelpiece in the new buildings of the London County Council depicting a Bear overturning a Beehive. This was removed from a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and is one of the very few old things in that huge building.

I fail to see any sufficient reason for accepting the assertion of our Brother that Industry has swamped all the other attributes of the Bee in modern days. The marvels of the structure of the Honeycomb, the government of the Hive, and the Life of the Bee have never, I think, been so prominent as they have been of late years. Of this the writings of Maurice Maeterlinck and of the great French naturalist, J. Henri Fabre, are conclusive evidence.

In the translation by De Mattos of Fabre's writings, entitled *The Mason Bees*, this passage is found at p. 135 (chapter on the Red Ants):—"When the Mason-bee is building the antennae are constantly feeling, fumbling and exploring, superintending, as it were, the finishing touches given to the work. They are her instruments of precision, they represent the builders compasses, square, level and plumb line"; and this on pages 164-5:—"Can the bird, wonderful architect that it is compare its work with that masterpiece of higher geometry the edifice of the Bee? The Hymenopteron rivals man himself. We build towns, the Bee erects cities."

In default of any record being handed down to us of the reasons which prompted our Masonic ancestors to discontinue the use of the Beehive as a symbol it may be permissible to suggest that it would have been some reason if such discontinuance had been on the ground that the ruling sovereign of the Hive is of the Female sex, that the Male Bees undergo very harsh though very efficacious treatment by the others, and that the whole political organisation of the Hive is based upon what John Knox called the Monstrous Regimen of Women.

I conclude with a quotation from an old author (*circa* 1633).

In T. Adams' commentary on the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, chap. 2, verse 16 (page 522 of Sherman's reprint of last century), the following occurs:—"They tell us of . . . a woman that to make her bees fruitful did put a consecrated host into the hive, where the bees built a chapel with an altar, doors, and windows, a steeple with bells, and sung their canonical hours, and kept watch like monks in their cloisters: and was not here a goodly convent made in a bee hive?"

Probably this may be regarded as a record account of the exploits in Architecture within the Hive of the family of Bees.

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Bro. Bullamore *writes* as follows, in reply:—

I am pleased to find that my paper has aroused so much interest.

The inclusion of the Beehive and seven Bees in a Masonic chart dated 1839 and published at Bristol is of interest, especially as the emblem has not survived in Bristol working although it survived till the Union on aprons in an Atholl Lodge.

My efforts were directed chiefly to demonstrating that the Bee was an emblem of the Soul without attempting to show why it became so. But I have little faith in the Drone-fly hypothesis quoted by Bro. Stokes. The rat-tailed larvæ of Eristalis tenax are adapted to a life in stagnant water or liquid sewage, and, although the fly might sometimes deposit eggs on a carcase, it does not follow that they would develop, or that the larvæ could hold their own against the specially adapted larvæ of the flesh or blow flies. That swarms of them could arise from the carcase of a bull seems unlikely.

The truth is that formerly bees and flies were not clearly distinguished. For centuries the fly, a two-winged insect, was described as possessing four wings; while so late as 1697 a book published in Paris (*Traité des Mouches à Miel*) refers throughout to the bees as "mouches." Swarms of bees taking possession of sepulchral caves, coffins in trees, or dessicated carcases (such as Samson's lion) would supply evidence for the believer in the identity of bees and the soul.

Bro. Rippon mentions the Egyptian hieroglyphic. It is only necessary to examine the early examples at the British Museum to ascertain that it represents a wasp carrying a caterpillar. In one example the caterpillar is a looper, in another it resembles the hairy type or "woolly bear."

The quotation from Inman that Christians use the bee as an emblem of the Word or the Trinity, recalls the fact that Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was known as the College of Bees. This may be founded on the text that "Christ is our hope," as bees represent hope (of resurrection?).

Bro. Daynes assumes that there is a direct relationship between the source of the Warrant and the method of working. My own view is that a special Modern working extended to comparatively few Lodges outside of London, while Provincial Lodges, irrespective of Warrants, and the London Lodges of the Antients, maintained traditional workings. Bookbindings and engraved Summons plates, being the work of professionals, must have often followed conventional designs, so that the inclusion or omission of the beehive is of little value as evidence of its use or avoidance in ritual. But if we accept the view that the beehive was Modern and not officially recognised by the Antients it is difficult to understand why it occurs in Ireland in the eighteenth century, is depicted on Atholl Aprons, and survives in America, where Antient or York Masonry practically supplanted Modern Masonry towards the end of the eighteenth century. As to the meaning associated with the symbol, there is no evidence that the present meaning was current in America before the latter half of the eighteenth century. If we look upon the Scythe and Hour-glass as representing time and human life this does not differ greatly from my suggestion of mortality, and these emblems are suitably placed to the left of the crucified Saviour in the K.T. design. Whether they are more suitably balanced on the right hand by Industry or by the Hope of Immortality must remain a matter of opinion. And if it can be proved that the Beehive has always typified Industry, the problem arises as to why it was only revealed to the Master.

I cannot connect the history of the Trowel with that of the Beehive. There are two trowels which may have had different origins. That worn by

the E.A. at Cambridge on his initiation and by the I.G. of some old Lodges is probably the pointing trowel, a narrow, sharply pointed instrument, useful as a weapon.

Where stands the junior E.A.? In the North.
What is his business? To keep out all cowans and eavesdroppers.

The trowel in the Third Degree and that held in the couped hand on Irish Lodge Seals is probably the layers' trowel and may be related to the seventeen trowels owned by a Carmarthen Lodge. Even if we assume that they were worn originally in Lodges of layers or apprentices they would still remain distinct from the badge of the junior E.A. or I.G.

Bro. Finlayson's note is valuable as showing that the Lodge of Industry at Swalwell first took that name in 1778. It therefore proves that the association of Industry with the Beehive took place in that Lodge many years after Culloden.

Bro. Tuckett is to be specially thanked for clearing up the point as to the date of the Brunswick Medal. His remarks as a "Speculative Jacobite" are valuable as showing the influence that Culloden had on English Masonry, special knowledge enabling him to present the case far more satisfactorily than I was able to do. As to the descent of the Beehive and its symbolism from the Guild, the Freemasons at the dissolution of the monasteries appear to have entered the Guilds, for in London at this time the name of the Guild was changed to "The Company of Freemasons." Assuming that the Freemasons were laymen monks bringing their ceremony with them, we can look upon the Third Degree as representing a modification of that ceremony. In the Guild itself we should expect to find many primitive usages with which it would combine.

The extract given by Bro. Trevelyan Lee is very similar to others given in this paper, and suggests that a stereotyped explanation had been decided upon at some time. Unfortunately this striving for uniformity destroys all traces of antiquity or origin.

Bro. Covey Crump points out that the symbolism of the Hive should be distinguished from the symbolism of the inhabitants of the hive. But in speaking of the hive or skep as an emblem of Industry we undoubtedly refer to the inhabitants of the skep and not to its maker. As a Lodge emblem, a bee on the floor would be scarcely noticeable, a honeycomb would be messy, while the skep, associated with bees when they were the sole sugar producers, would be at once identified with them and their work. In the Ely carving the skep is inverted and it can be seen to be empty. In the St. Lo example it is covered with a straw 'hackle' or thatch, and is presumably intended to represent the living bees with a spiritual significance associating them with the Annunciation. Ruskin's view is that it symbolises the rays of the descending spirit.

There is no evidence that the Babylonians were acquainted with bee-keeping, or that bees had reached Babylon when the worship of Mylitta was inaugurated. To speculate on this name as associated with bees is, therefore, beyond me.

The Roman hives were frequently cylinders of bark (*ruscæ*) whence the North country "ruskie" for a bee skep.

I thank Bro. Williams for correcting the reference to the Tracing Board figured in Bro. Heiron's book. Though its history is indefinite, it is of interest as an example of a combined first and second degree board containing the emblem. The anecdote of bees building a chapel is to be found in Butler's Feminine Monarchy quoted from *Bozius de Signis Ecclesiae* (1591). Variants occur in the seventeenth century. In one the bees build the chapel but worship there instead of gathering honey, and eventually sting the impious wretch who thus misused the sacred host. In another version the bees find the host in a meadow where it had been dropped by a priest, and it is carried by them in solemn procession to the hive in which they build the shrine. Hawker of

Morwenstow rendered the original anecdote into poetry as "A Legend of the Hive":—

> They brought their walls from bud and flower,
> They built bright roof and beamy tower.

Not the least curious part of the symbolism of the bee is that while it was recognized by geometricians as representing exceptional skill in that science, the Freemasons who were skilled geometricians have not transmitted any knowledge of this connection although the beehive is a Masonic emblem. Its selection in modern times to represent Industry, a meaning to be kept from the apprentice, is inexplicable. As an ancient and appropriate emblem whose meaning has been changed, its survival in Freemasonry can be understood.

As to the deeper meaning of Immortality or the Soul. "The first learning of the world consisted chiefly of symbols" and throughout the middle ages symbolism was common. If we realize the part that symbolism and religion have played in the past it is impossible to imagine an *ancient* Freemasonry free of religion and symbolism. The beehive was capable of a spiritual interpretation, and, if used, I do not think that this meaning would have been ignored. We have to fall back on conjecture, as there can be no documentary copies of an unwritten ritual. As to the inventions of the eighteenth century, it is my opinion that more was done to repair damaged traditions than to concoct new rituals. Symbols survived, and, where necessary, were supplied with new meanings.

I again thank the Brethren for the manner in which this paper has been received. It is my hope that, by bringing the subject into the foreground, new light may be thrown on it in the future.



Jewel of Lodge Industry and Perseverance No. 109, Calcutta.

# SOME NOTES UPON THE REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

*BY BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES.*

AS far back as the 8th November, 1890, Bro. Bywater, in his Installation Address to this Lodge, called attention to the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, and stated that, "in casting about in search for probable sources whither investigation might be profitably directed, the early Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission seemed to indicate a mine of Masonic wealth awaiting the stroke of the pick." Recently, I have been reading one or two of these early Reports, and I have been much struck with the truth of the remark I have just quoted. In these early Reports the contents of many Muniment Rooms were laid bare for the first time. Although the Reports, as to some of these Muniment Rooms, are very brief, and contain no full calendars of their contents, yet many of them give us hints as to where further investigation might reveal information of considerable Masonic value.

In these Reports, two special features stand out; the wealth of documents that exist as to the Gothic Builders, and the erection and repair of many of our treasured architectural possessions; and the vast mass of correspondence, which might disclose facts relating to Freemasonry in the British Isles, during the last half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. In the latter case, this is particularly likely, when the documents are housed in Mansions, which have been the residences of Grand Masters, or other Grand Officers, during the early years of organized Freemasonry; and, also, when these documents have been written by these Rulers of the Craft, or even by men of position who were made Masons during the first half of the eighteenth century, to others in the same categories.

From time to time, during the thirty-three years that have elapsed since Bro. Bywater gave his Address, these Reports have been referred to, and their value emphasized. No doubt our Masonic experts have examined these Reports, in search of material dealing with the particular branch they were studying, or in connection with some special phase of Freemasonry. However, up to the present, no attempt has been made to extract, from the Reports, the references to all the documents noted in them, which might, by any chance, disclose something of value to Freemasonry; and to give the result to the general body of Freemasons.

In the belief that such extracts will supply a real want, and, perhaps, stimulate Masons who live in the localities where some of these documents can be inspected, to take up the search for fresh Masonic facts, I propose to go carefully through these Reports, make as far as possible the extracts I have indicated, and give from time to time, through the *Transactions* of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, the results of my labours.

All documents, which might, by any chance, reveal something of Masonic interest, should be carefully investigated: and what more fitting task for the Correspondence Circle of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge to undertake, as a body, and systematically. There are Members of the C.C. in practically every town of England, Scotland, and Ireland, many of whom would, I am sure, be only too glad to do something to carry on the work of Masonic Research, and assist in bringing more light to bear upon our ancient past. If all the MSS., which will hereafter be noted, are passed under careful scrutiny by Masons, reading

them from a Masonic standpoint, and the results, both negative as well as positive, tabulated and published, I am confident that a great deal of fresh information, of a most important character, could be obtained, not only as to the growth of the Art of the Masons during the operative days of Mediæval England, but also as to Speculative Masonry during the period during which the Operative Lodges gradually changed into the Speculative Society we know, to-day, as Freemasonry. If each Installed Masters' Lodge, or other Association for Masonic Research, made itself responsible for the inspection of all Documents in their respective areas much could soon be done.

Many of the Documents I shall refer to have, doubtless, been published in local Histories, the Journals of local Archæological or other Societies, or elsewhere. I have made no attempt to find out where this has been done: the time it would take would be too great, and out of proportion to the value of the result. Local information must be more accurate on this point, and could well be incorporated in the local reports upon any documents examined.

In the main, I propose to let the Reports of the Commissioners speak for themselves, occasionally adding notes to explain the reason for noting particular documents or special letters. Where I have noted correspondence between named individuals it is because the names of one or both of them are the same as the names of known Freemasons and the date of the correspondence is not inconsistent with these Freemasons being alive at that date. It is impossible, in many cases, to establish identity from the Reports, but it may be quite likely that identity could be conclusively established after a perusal of the correspondence noted.

It may also seem, at first sight, that some of the documents I have mentioned are far removed from Freemasonry. I have, however, cast my net as wide as possible so as not to miss anything, but even so I feel that there may be many Masonic treasures hidden in MSS., the titles of which give no hint of their presence, and are accordingly not included in my extracts. I trust the Brethren will look kindly upon all faults of commission or omission on my part, and that I may be the means of drawing attention to many documents which may yield a rich harvest to the diligent seeker.

## *FIRST REPORT.*

This report is dated the 26th February, 1870.

*BELVOIR CASTLE* (pp. 10-12).

Register of Croxton Abbey; a parchment 12mo. of 151 leaves, including a fly-leaf, in writing of the end of the thirteenth century down to fol. 89, and thenceforth of the fourteenth century. It contains details of the possessions and privileges of the abbey as far as fol. 89. The remainder of the volume is occupied with Alchemical Notes, &c.

Letters.—There are in the room a bundle of eighteen letters from the Privy Council in 1549, and a great many family letters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Bills and Accounts.—Personal account book of Sir John Manners of Haddon, 1563.

Bills selected as curiosities (for servants' and labourers' wages), 1631-1700 (46).

And many other private and personal accounts from the sixteenth century downwards.

Miscellanea.—A very large roll (perhaps 50 feet long), about one foot wide, called "A pedigree from Adam," ending with the year A.D. 688. It contains a great mass of universal history, written in English about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[Note.—Is there any similarity in form or in contents between this History and the traditional history contained in the MS. Constitutions or Old Charges?]

*KIMBOLTON CASTLE* (pp. 12, 13).

Notes of a Journey on the Continent, 1699-1702. Fol.

There is an extensive collection of Letters illustrating the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There are fourteen folios which contain a great part of the Earl's correspondence. A fifteenth contains miscellaneous letters and papers, 1707-1737.

*THE HATTON COLLECTION* (pp. 14-34).

Ancient deeds and charters.

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|---|---|
| Saxon ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Papal Bulls ... ... ... ... | 6 |

[Note.—All Papal Bulls should be examined for date and contents.]

Correspondence.

Aglionby, William, to (Earl of Nottingham?). 1704. Three letters.
Carpenter, F., to Lord Hatton. 9th Feb. 1680.
Dawson, J., to Lord Hatton. 20th June 1725.
Day, John, to the Earl of Nottingham. 1702. Two letters.
Dubois, Francis, to Lord Hatton. 1672 and 1675. Three letters.
Godolphin, ——, Lord Treasurer, to the Earl of Nottingham et al. 1689, 1702, 3 and 4. Forty-eight letters and drafts. General news.
Herbert, J., to Mr. Stretehay. 5th June 1710.
Highmore, Dr., to Dr. Harvey. Part of a letter from. Undated.
Hill, William, to Lord ——. 24th Aug. 1704.
Hodgson, Thomas, to Lord Hatton. 1685, 9, and 90. Four letters.
Hutchins, F., to Mr. Heysham. 15th Jan. 1703.
Jackson, Francis, to Lord Hatton. 19th April 1727.
Le Bas to Lord ——. 17th May 1702.
Lee, John, to ——. 20th May 1702.
Mead, John, to Lord Hatton. 5th Jan. 1726.
Cox, Richard, to Lord Hatton and another. 1689, 91, and 2.
Radcliffe, Dr. John, to John Rogers. 1701.
Rooke, George Henry, to Lord ——. 1st July 1735.
Samwell, Thomas, et al., to Lord Hatton. 1688, 9, 90, 2, and 3.
Sandys, Thomas, to Lord ——. 2nd May 1702.
Stanton, William, to Lord Hatton. 1684. Six letters.
Towers, William, to Lord ——. 19th Oct. 1725.
Webber, Robert, to Mr. Stretehay. 16th Nov. 1709.
Hedges, C. (Secretary), to the Earl of Nottingham. 1702. Two letters.

A Portfolio containing autograph letters of . . . Sir William Dugdale.

[Note.—This correspondence comprises letters from over 1,000 different correspondents, and, doubtless, many more extracts could have been made if a complete list of the Freemasons of the first half of the eighteenth century had been available when checking the names.]

Miscellaneous papers; some are interesting. A few are in the handwriting of Dugdale.

News Letters. England. 1690. Twelve letters.

News Letters. Ireland. 1690 and 1702. Twenty-one letters or extracts.

News Letters. Abstracts and copies of. Circa 1703-1706. Nine letters, &c.

Note-book and Almanack (1723), containing some notes, &c., by the Earl of Winchilsea.

Another book of Poetry, headed "Mr. Norton's work de lapide ph'orum."

*CROME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE* (p. 34).

Compotus of Sir T. Coventry, Knt.A.G., the Treasurer of the Inner Temple, 1622; and with it various accounts, such as Bills of the Water Gate, Bills for buildings, Vouchers, Bills.

*EARL OF MACCLESFIELD'S PAPERS* (pp. 35-41).

George Stepney's Correspondence, 1694 to 1707.

The letters are addressed to Mr. Ellis, who was Under Secretary of State. The correspondence is of a very interesting character.

James Cressett's Correspondence, 1693-1703.

These letters are all addressed to Mr. Ellis, Under-Secretary of State.

[Note.—These letters deal with important political matters, most of them having been written from abroad. There are, however, several personal letters, and also news-letters amongst this collection, which might disclose something of interest.]

*PORT ELIOT, CORNWALL, THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF ST. GERMANS* (pp. 41-44).

There is a good collection of letters of the last century, but only one, I think, of the seventeenth century.

About twenty letters from Edward Eliot (afterwards 1st Lord Eliot) to his Father Richard Eliot, written during his tour through Holland, Prussia, Switzerland, in the years 1744-1747.

About twenty letters from Richard Eliot to his Son, the above-named Edward Eliot, 1742-1748; they were written from England, and contain a few political notices, but are chiefly devoted to home and domestic affairs.

Six letters from Lord Chesterfield to Edward Eliot in the years 1747 or 1748.

There is another bundle of letters from Edward Eliot, while abroad, to his Father Richard Eliot, during the years 1747 and 1748.

Seven letters from Edward Gibbon (the historian) to Edward Eliot (1st Lord Eliot).

A Sixth bound volume contains:— . . . . . . .

Fama fraternitatis, or a discovery of the fraternity of the most laudable order of the Rosy Cross (169-193).

Begins,—Seeing the only wise and mercifull God . . .

Ends,—come to the wished happiness of the Rosy Crosse.

A tenth bound volume contains:—

Original letters and correspondence of Sir John Eliot from 1625.

Separately is a treatise by Sir John Eliot, called "The Monarchie of Man. A treatise philosophicall and morall, wherein some questions of the politicks are diversely discussed by Sir John Eliot, Kt., prisoner in the Tower . . . Deus nobis haec otia." (426 pages.) With Sir John's rough draft of a preface.

[Note.—Early philosophical and Moral works may be examined usefully for traces of Symbolism, &c.]

*THE EARL OF ZETLAND'S PAPERS* (p. 44).

The letters range from about 1750 to 1780, and are nearly all addressed to Laurence Dundas (in 1762 he was created a baronet), ancestor of the Earl and a contractor for the army.

The letters are several hundreds in number.

In one of the drawers there is a small packet of papers which are quite independent of the others. These few papers relate to the rebellion of 1745, and may be worth noting.

[Note.—All Jacobite papers and correspondence are of importance for testing the Jacobite theories of Freemasonry.]

*MANUSCRIPTS OF VISCOUNT MIDLETON* (p. 44).

The papers extend from March 1627 to 1728, and are chronologically arranged in nine volumes.

The letters between various members of the Brodrick family might be illustrative of domestic history.

There are also several papers connected with Irish affairs.

*LORD MOSTYN'S COLLECTION OF NEWS LETTERS, &c.* (pp. 44, 45).

There are ten bundles of News Letters and private letters (several hundreds in number), arranged according to the years in which they were written.

They range over twenty years, viz., 1673 to 1692, both included. With two or three exceptions, all are from London, and they are very interesting.

They are addressed to Thomas Mostyn, of Gloddaeth, in general. A few, however, are addressed to Mr. Rowland Thomas at Mr. Mostyn's.

The News Letters are unsigned. A newsman in London . . . attended coffee houses and other places of public resort, and there picked up the gossip and news of court and city.

The letters now under consideration give much court and city news, court gossip, accounts of duels, murders, fires, and accidents, proceedings in Parliament and in the Privy Council, trials in the Courts, and in fact all the news of the time, foreign and domestic.

There are notices of . . . The Great fire in the Temple (1678) when Mr. Ashmole's collection of curiosities were consumed, but the "Divell Tavern" and the houses next Fleet Street escaped.

There are, intermixed, many private letters to Thomas Mostyn from William Pyers, William Salesbury, Rowland Thomas, Robert Hooker and Robert Wynne, and many unsigned from a person evidently not the ordinary Newsman.

[News letters are in the nature of a lucky dip. One never knows when a precious gem may turn up.]

*MANUSCRIPTS AT EVERINGHAM PARK* (pp. 45 and 46).

A collection of the Lives of the Saints, in Latin, bearing the title "Passionarium G. de Lacy." "Liber Monasterii Beatae Mariae Ebor." "In N.XV." A MS. of the thirteenth century, upon vellum, consisting of 417 pages.

[Note.—All such MSS. should be examined for further facts as to the Patron Saints of the Masons.]

Lord Herries also possesses a large and curious collection of family correspondence, ranging from 1710 to about 1730.

*TABLEY HOUSE, CHESHIRE, THE SEAT OF THE LORD DE TABLEY* (pp. 46-50).

A copy of Sir Peter Leycester's printed work on Cheshire (fol. London, 1673) with his MS. additions on interleaves and on the margins.

A folio volume, paper, of the seventeeth century, contains a Latin astronomical treatise. (Eight leaves.)

A folio volume, intituled Catalogue of folio, quarto, and octavo pamphlets, bound. (Many hundreds of pamphlets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, down to 1731.)

Folio, containing a Mise Book of Cheshire, alphabetically transcribed, A.D. 1671. At the beginning is a Table, as follows:—

. . . . . .

7. A new freehold book of Cheshire, made 1671 (152 to the end), containing the names of all such who held any freehold lands of inheritance there, and ought to appear at Assizes and Sessions.

[Note.—Did Bro. Rylands have access to the MS. when investigating the names of the Members of the Chester Lodge?]

A very large folio volume of Cheshire Genealogies, with coloured arms.

A quarto volume. Sir P. Leycester's book of Disbursements, 1648-1678.

A quarto volume, seventeenth century, contains an Account of the Earls and Bishops of Chester. (Twenty folios.) Then follows a short notice of the Chester Mystery plays. "The ancient Whitson playes in Chester were set forth at the cost and charges of these occupations, and played yearly on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Whitsun week, being first made and . . . and put into English tongue by one Randall Higden, a monk of Chester Abbey, A.D. 1269." The Companies as they have joined, and the parts that they played at their own costs, here follow. (The drama of the World was presented in twenty-five portions, the first being the fall of Lucifer, and the last being Doomsday. Nine of these were given on the first day, nine on the second day, and seven on the third day.)

*TRELAWNY, IN CORNWALL. SIR JOHN S. TRELAWNY, BART.* (pp. 50-53).

The letters here are very numerous.

Several letters from Pentecost Barker (in London) to Harry Trelawny. In one, dated 14th Nov. 1750, the writer copies an advertisement by Henley (Orator Henley). Went to hear him. He abused the then Bishop of London, Gibson, and, speaking of the Codex, said with a sneer that it was as big and as useless as a Church Bible. (In the advertisement, which is against one of St. D(avid)'s men, Henley calls the pulpit "a clack-loft.") This Pentecost Barker was a purser in the Navy.

It is a Collection which contains much of interest, especially for the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century.

*PAPERS BELONGING TO T. E. P. LEFROY, ESQ.* (p. 56).

These papers are very valuable for biographical and historical purposes, being a collection of about 1,700 private letters from men of high station and repute, between the years 1672 and 1689.

Mr. O. Wynne's letters from July 1680 to April 1684.

Godolphin's letters in 1680-81 and 82.

There is also a series of news letters of Edward Coleman, from 1675 to 1678. He was at that time secretary to the Duchess of York.

Also another series of news letters written by Robert Yard and James Vernon, from Whitehall, 1670 to 1689.

*DUNSTER CASTLE, SOMERSETSHIRE.*

There are a good many letters from Henry Shiffner, M.P. for Minehead, addressed from London to H. F. Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, and ranging from about 1762 to 1765.

A letter of the 3rd of May 1763 mentions the appearance of John Wilkes before Pratt, C. J.; the huzzas of the mob as Wilkes went back to the Tower. He was remanded, having refused to give bail, and the Chief Justice took time to consider his judgment.

*MONTACUTE HOUSE, SOMERSETSHIRE* (pp. 56-58).

A letter from Christopher Greenwood (father Greenwood) dated 1617, on religious subjects.

There are many other letters and papers of the seventeenth century of much interest.

And there are numerous letters from Sir Robert Phelipps to his sons Robert and Edward, of about the middle of the seventeenth century; he addresses them as "Robin" and "Ned." An examination of these would probably educe facts of more than family interest.

*HELMINGHAM HALL, SUFFOLK, THE SEAT OF JOHN TOLLEMACHE, ESQ.* (pp. 60-61).

Higden's Polychronicon in Latin (folio, parchment, fifteenth century). The last date is 1333.

Two very early MSS. contain the Statutes to the end of Edward I. A folio of the fifteenth century contains the Statutes in French to the 9 Hen. 6. A similar volume contains the Statutes from Edward 3 to 23 Henry 6, the greater part in English.

There are two parchment Rolls of the fifteenth century, containing the usual genealogical and historical matter from the beginning of the world, English history in later times being predominant.

[Note.—It might be useful to compare these Rolls with the MS. Constitutions.]

*CAMBRIDGE: CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE* (pp. 64-67).

A large folio volume, bound in boards, of about 400 leaves of paper, containing accounts of the College from 1590 to 1684.

A few parchment Rolls (some in a tattered state) of the Guild of St. Mary at Cambridge,—one of the two Guilds to which the College owed its foundation,—temp. Edward 1 and Edward 2. This Guild was governed by an Alderman, and three "Coadjutors and Advisers."

Bede Rolls of the Brethren and Sisters of the Guild of St. Mary, before 1349, comprised in three membranes of parchment.

A thin quarto volume, with paper leaves, rather tattered, not numbered, and bound in paper; containing the accounts of the Guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, beginning in 1349.

Accounts of building the College Chapel, beginning in 1578; a small octavo volume, containing about sixty pages of paper, closely written upon, and bound in part of a leaf of a handsome Service Book of the Romish Church. The masons are here distinguished as "rough masons" and "free masons." The writing of this book is very small.

Accounts of building the College Chapel, in 1581; a volume similar to the preceding one, and with the like small writing.

A small oblong paper volume, containing several Inventories, and College accounts between A.D. 1376 and 1470.

College Account Book, A.D. 1469-1509; a small oblong paper volume of about 300 pages, bound in parchment, and closely resembling the preceding one; but in good condition throughout.

[Note.—These and all other old Building Accounts deserve attention. They may throw further light on early meaning of word "Freemason" as well as upon early customs of Freemasons.]

*CAMBRIDGE: KING'S COLLEGE* (pp. 67-69).

Six large folio volumes of miscellaneous accounts of various kinds, beginning within a few years of 1441, the date of the foundation of the College.

Mundum Books, or Books of fair Copies of College Accounts of all kinds, in numerous folio volumes, extending from A.D. 1448 down to the present time. They contain full information as to all the receipts and expenses of the College.

Volumes of original letters, bound up together.

A folio paper volume, covered with limp vellum, but in good preservation. The heading of the first page is:—"Cambridge Cō, Costs and Expenses done there from the xiiith day of May in the fyrste yere of the reign of our soveraign Lord Kynge Henry the VIIIth, unto the xxviith day of the same month. And so from fortenyghte to fortenyghte, as hereafter appeareth." The heads in page 1 are "Wages, etc.; Emptions of stone, ragg, lyme, and ironwork; Carriage of timber from Walden Park, and of stone ragge from the water; necessaries, as colys, water, ropys, and suche order." These are the fortnightly

accounts of the expenses of building the Chapel of the King's College, after the work had been resumed by Henry 7. This handsome volume is only half filled, and ends with the fortnight, 15-29 July, 7 Henry 8.

A small folio paper volume, with parchment cover, containing an account of the expenditure on continuing the building of the College Chapel in the 23rd and 24th of Henry 7 (A.D. 1507-9), such moneys being paid by the hand of Provost Hatton. This volume . . . is full of curious details as to the then rates of wages and the price of stone and other building materials.

*CAMBRIDGE: PEMBROKE COLLEGE* (pp. 69-72).

Bull of Pope Innocent VI. for building a Chapel within the precincts of the College, 1354.

Bull of Pope Urban VI. for a Chapel with a Belfry, 1366.

[Note.—Did Sir William Dugdale see similar, but earlier, Bulls in his various inspections of Documents, and was it upon such as these that he based his statement as to the origin of Freemasonry?]

Accounts of Repairs of the College from the 12th to the 25th of Henry 8 (A.D. 1520 to 1533).

Account of the Expenses of building the East End of the North side of the New Court, towards which Dr. Ball and Mr. Quarles each gave £100.

College Treasurer's Accounts, 1557-1642, in a large folio paper volume. The Treasurer's Accounts are continued, in a series of smaller folio volumes, down to the present day.

*CAMBRIDGE: QUEEN'S COLLEGE* (pp. 72-73).

A Book called "Computus Finalis," 1532-1716, with the title written above, in an old English hand:—"The final accomptes of Treasorers of this College, and Debits (apparently) of the same." A folio paper volume of 190 pages, bound in limp parchment, entirely devoted to College accounts.

Auditors' Book (1), 1534-1546; a large folio volume, bound in limp parchment, partly paper, partly vellum, of about 200 pages; giving accounts of College rentals and expenditure. Under the latter, there are a few items illustrative of the customs of those times.

Auditors' Book (2), Michs. 1546 to Michs. 1548, and Michs. 1553 to Michs. 1558; a large folio, bound in limp parchment, partly paper, partly vellum, of about 100 pages.

Auditors' Book (3), 1558-1609; a folio volume, in limp parchment, containing 329 leaves of paper. A similar book to the preceding ones.

Auditors' Book (4), 1610-1772; a folio volume, in limp vellum, containing about 250 leaves of paper.

*CAMBRIDGE: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE* (pp. 74-77).

A small long paper book of accounts of the Priory of Lillecherche, or Heyham, from the Feast of the Annunciation in the 24th year of Henry 7 to that day twelve months (A.D. 1509-1510).

An immense mass of letters in bundles.

A large paper folio volume, containing the accounts of James Moryce, clerk of the works to the Countess of Richmond, in the 20th year of Henry 7, for works at Coldharborowe, Collyweston, Croydon and elsewhere. This volume contains a fragment also as to the building of Christ's College.

A paper volume, in quarto shape, containing the general accounts of the treasurer of the Countess, from the 14th year of Henry 7 to the 18th of that reign.

A thin paper folio volume, containing the account of Robert Fremyngham, treasurer to the Countess, from the 24th of Henry 7 to 1st Henry 8, the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, when she died (A.D. 1509).

A paper folio volume, containing the account of James Moryce, clerk of the works to the Countess, from Epiphany in the 15th of Henry 7, for work done at Collyweston, near Stamford.

A folio paper volume of the first year of Henry 8, containing the accounts for labour and material in the building of Christ's College, Cambridge, under the heads, among others, of "laborers, thakkers, and bricklayers"; a volume of considerable interest.

A thick small paper folio volume, setting forth payments for timber and ironmongery for building purposes, in the 19th and 20th Henry 7.

A paper volume, giving the account of James More, clerk of the works at Collyweston, 18th, 19th, and 20th Henry 7. Its contents are of interest, in reference to the then prices of labour and materials.

A small folio paper book, somewhat torn, containing—"all such sums of money as my master hath receyved and payd for the buldyng of my Lord of Rochestre chapell, the xvij. day of August in the xvij. yere of . . . King Henry VIII."; in the writing of a clerk of Dr. Metcalfe. At the other end of this volume is an account by Dr. Metcalfe of receipts and payments by him in the 16th, 17th, and 18th years of Henry 8. The chapel here mentioned was afterwards known as "Fisher's Chantry" or "Chapel," and was situate on the south-east side of the College Chapel of St. John's, which itself was finished in 1516. This book is full of builders' accounts, of a very interesting character.

*CAMBRIDGE: ST. PETER'S COLLEGE* (pp. 77-79).

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, down to the present time, there is an almost perfect series of the yearly accounts of the College.

The College is now in possession of three Bursars' Rolls only belonging to the fourteenth century, those for the years 1374-5, 1388-9, and 1396-7; after the year 1400 the series is nearly complete for a long period of time. The earliest of these three Rolls . . . enters into considerable detail as to the various materials then used in building, and the wages given to the several classes of workmen connected with it. The second Roll under "Expensae" has "Item, de xviiid. solutis uni lathamo, pro factura latrinae."

*CAMBRIDGE: TRINITY COLLEGE* (pp. 82-86).

The Books of Commons, or Bursars' Books of King's Hall, from the time of its foundation, 11th of Edward 3, to the date of its absorption in the new foundation of Trinity College, at the close of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, forming 18 paper quarto volumes in all. The first volume . . . contains the accounts of the College commons and general expenditure between the 11th and 25th Edward 3, A.D. 1337 to 1351. The second volume contains 300 pages, and embraces from the 30th Edward 3 (1356) to the 44th year of that reign (1370); it resembles the preceding volume in the general nature of its contents.

*NORWICH: THE DEAN AND CHAPTER* (pp. 87-89).

The Computi, or Rolls of Account, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, are very numerous, and commence in the latter half of the thirteenth century; though from the comparative paucity of those of some of the officials, it seems probable that in the lapse of ages many of them have perished.

*MSS. OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. MARY, OSCOTT, NEAR BIRMINGHAM* (pp. 89-90).

9. A 4to volume in red morocco, gilt, with the following title:—"Londinum antiquum, being an historical collection giving an account of whatever is ancient and curious in the cities of London and Westminster; to which is added all ancient inscriptions that can be found." Written in 1725.

10. A folio consisting of the collections made by Bishop Stonor relative to occurrences between 1607 and 1770. Many original papers are bound up in this volume.

*LIBRARY OF USHAW COLLEGE, NEAR DURHAM* (pp. 91-92).

Letters of Alexander Pope, to his Sister Mrs. Rucket. One bears the date July 1729; the others are undated. They are all original and holograph. Also Pope's will, dated 12th Dec. 1749.

A variety of Law papers, probably collected by Nathaniel Eyre, of Lincoln's Inn, or Gray's Inn, who practised about the middle of the last century. Amongst these are various documents connected with the penal laws; . . . the trials of Lords Derwentwater, Widrington, and Lovat, &c.

*WESTMINSTER ABBEY* (pp. 94-97).

Among the "Miscellaneous Books" are the following:—

2. An imperfect Book, apparently accounts and memoranda of John Islip, when Treasurer of the Monastery, 8-15 Henry 7.

3. An account of some person apparently acting as deputy of John Islip in reference to his office as Treasurer, comprising payments for works in the Abbot's house and garden; expenses of his household, dress and medicines; works about the out-buildings and neighbouring manors of the Abbey and in the "new work," that is, of King Henry VIIth's Chapel; purchase of stone and other materials for the same. 11-12 Henry 7.

4. A few leaves of a Chamberlain's (?) account of the Abbey, temp. Henry 7.

A small pacquet, labelled:—"1. King's Orders for delivery of stores, Henry 3," containing eleven warrants or letters from the King in reference to his works at Westminster. They are of the 42nd, 43rd, 44th, and 45th years of his reign, and are addressed to "Masters John of Gloucester," "Edward of Westminster," and "Robert of Beverley," "our masons and wardens of our works" at Westminster.

A similar pacquet, labelled:—"2. Relating to the building of the Abbey by K. Hen. 3," containing three documents, viz., Letter from the Sheriff of London to Master John le Mazun. Letter from Richard le Wyte, of the quarry at Purbeck, to Master Robert de Beverle. Note of the "Sum of the cost of the works at Westminster from their commencement" to the Sunday next after St. Michael in the 45th year.

Fragment of an account of payments to workmen, temp. Hen. 3; portion of a Fabric Roll of the Abbey.

Lett. Pat. granting to Will. Waldern and others the power of pressing workmen for the construction and repair of the Nave of the Abbey of Westminster, and granting timber, lead, &c., for the same work. 24 August, 1 Henry 5.

Letters of publication of the Papal Auditor of a Bull by Pope Nicholas in favour of the privileges of the Order (St. John of Jerusalem), and the protest against it by the Proctor of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, 11th July 1277.

*YORK, THE DEAN AND CHAPTER* (page 97).

James Torre's Collection of Extracts; a series of folio paper written volumes of about 1600 pages each compiled by Mr. Torre, a private gentleman of antiquarian tendencies, between about A.D. 1670 and 1687.

*THE CORPORATION OF BRIDGWATER* (page 99).

Churchwardens' Accounts of the Church of St. Mary at Bridgwater. The membranes, containing these documents, are many in number, each containing the account of receipts and expenditure for a single year. The earliest that

could be found, belongs to the 42nd year of Edward 3, A.D. 1368-9. For the year 1366-7 there is also a separate account, containing matter of considerable interest in reference to the "New Work" of the Church.

The Statute of Labourers, 23rd Edward III. A parchment scroll; probably a contemporary copy.

Various Rolls of the Accounts of the Common Bailiff, or Bailiff of the Commonalty, from the reign of Richard 2; given in Latin.

*THE CORPORATION OF COVENTRY* (pp. 100-101).

The earliest Leet Book, or Book of the Court Leet, a very large paper folio volume. In folios 168-170 are accounts of the pageants shown before, and the English verses addressed to, Queen Margaret, on her visit to Coventry in the 35th of Henry 6.

A small folio paper volume, bound in new morocco, being a book of payments by the city authorities between 1561 and 1653. There is evidently much curious matter in this volume.

Account Book of the Company of Corvisers (or Shoemakers), from the year 1652 down to 1 George 3.

A very large paper folio, in old calf, containing 828 pages, and setting forth accounts from the 18th of Elizabeth (A.D. 1576) to 1686.

A very large paper folio, in old calf, containing accounts from the 16th of Elizabeth (A.D. 1574) to 1667.

A folio paper volume, bound in limp calf, rather mutilated at the beginning; containing the Accounts of the Chamberlains of Coventry from the year 1498 down to the 17th of Elizabeth (A.D. 1575). This is a valuable and most interesting volume, in reference to the prices of materials and general commodities in those times, and the rates of wages.

A large paper folio volume, containing the Chamberlains' and Wardens' Accounts from 1574 to 1635.

A large paper folio volume, containing the Chamberlains' and Wardens' Accounts from 1636 to 1709.

A very large folio volume, of about 1,200 pages of paper, in tattered old calf binding, but otherwise in good condition; containing the receipts and expenditure of the Brethren and Sisters of the Guild of Corpus Christi in Coventry, from the 3rd of Henry 7 (A.D. 1488) down to the first of Mary (A.D. 1553).

A small folio paper volume, in rough calf, containing the Chamberlains' and Wardens' Accounts from 33 Henry 8 (A.D. 1542) to 1656; under different heads from those previously described.

A very small paper folio volume, in limp vellum, of receipts and payments between 1641 and 1690, occupying 390 pages.

*THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF NORWICH* (pp. 102-104).

A large square folio paper book, endorsed "An old Free-Book."

The Court Books. A series of 40 volumes, containing the proceedings of the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Norwich. Their contents bear reference to the affairs of the City, and the trades carried on within it.

The Claviours' Books: three quarto paper volumes, bound in limp parchment, belonging to the following dates:—(1), 1555-1646; (2), 1625-97; (3), 1626-1716. They contain the accounts of the Clavigeri, Claviours, or Treasurers, of the Corporation.

Chamberlains' Rolls, and Books of account of receipts and expenditure; very numerous, and beginning at 1375.

A volume containing Enrolments of Apprenticeship Indentures, 1548 to 1561: in it there is included a Chamberlains' Account from 1447 to 1457.

A large folio paper volume, the first two leaves wanting, and about two-thirds filled; beginning in the last year of Philip and Mary (A.D. 1558), and

ending, at fol. 211, in 1713. It gives a list of admissions to apprenticeship in the various trades; the names of those with whom the apprenticeship was served; and the dates of admission of the apprentices to the freedom.

A Roll of the Receipts and Expenditure of Peter Flynt (A.D. 1347-60).

A Bye-law, prohibiting Artificers from leaving the City, without leave from the Mayor, A.D. 1544.

Codes of Bye-laws of the various Trades are numerous, but none date earlier than 1600.

Assembly-Book of the Guild of St. George, in Norwich, A.D. 1442-78; a large folio, paper, in the ancient boards.

Assembly-Book of the Guild of St. George, A.D. 1452-1602.

Laws, Rules, and Regulations of the Company intituled "St. George's Company," in three volumes.

Five parcels of Rolls of Accounts of the Treasurer of St. George's Company, commencing in the reign of King Henry 8.

*THE CORPORATION OF NOTTINGHAM* (pp. 105-106).

Bridge Accounts, or Accounts of the Estates given for the maintenance of the Bridge.

Chamberlains' Accounts; packed in various parcels.

*THE CORPORATION OF WELLS, SOMERSET* (pp. 106-108).

The Convocation Books, First Volume. The entries begin at page 3, and the earliest date is the 5th year of Richard 2. The Convocation Books contain the acts of the principal authorities of the City. Among these acts may be found . . . admissions to the freedom. For such admissions, the fees received by the Master and Commonalty, formerly 24 in number, consisted of money, drink, and gloves; a practice which continued down to the Municipal Corporation Reform Act.

The Convocation Books, Second Volume. In page 89 of this Volume, date 1470, there is a contract, in English, by John Stowell, of Wells, "free-mason," for building a Jesse altar in St. Cuthbert's Church, an entry of great interest, from the extreme minuteness of the description.

The Convocation Books, Third Volume. In folios 73, 74 are entered the accounts of the Chamberlain of the Corporation. In July, A.D. 1613, Queen Anne of Denmark came to Wells from Bath. At page 376 entry is made of an order, dated the 11th of July, in reference to the pageants displayed before her. The whole account of this pageant, as executed by the different trades, is curious in the extreme.

The Receivers' Books, First Volume. Begins in 1652.

The Receivers' Books, Second Volume. 1684-1755.

*THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF YORK* (pp. 108-110).

A collection of what were originally called "House Books," but now known as "Corporation Minute Books," numbering 32 volumes down to 1605, and 62 volumes in all, down to 1835; from which date they are continued to the present time. The date of the earliest volume is the 15th of Edward 4, or A.D. 1476. Vol. 32 (A.D. 1599-1605) contains voluminous correspondence relating to city matters, orders for the repair of various localities, admissions to the freedom and apprenticeships.

About ten volumes of Admissions to the Freedom. At page 32 begins a list of Freemen from A.D. 1272.

Registers of Apprenticeship Indentures, in several folio volumes.

A book of divers "Memoranda touching the City of York, made in the time of John de Santone, Mayor, 50 Edward 3, A.D. 1376." There are contained in it several contemporary copies of Acts of Parliament, and a large number of memoranda relative to passing events in the City of York. The volume is in every way highly interesting, as throwing a light upon the usages

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the early history of our trades and guilds. Incidentally also, there are numerous entries in this volume in reference to the pageants of the various trades of York, at the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, which was celebrated there with great pomp.

A book of Expenditure by the Corporation of York in the reign of Henry 6; a paper quarto, the outside labelled "25 Henry VI."

Another quarto volume of like character, in continuation, apparently, of the preceding one, and coming down to A.D. 1477.

A large folio paper volume of Indentures of Apprenticeship in York, from the 22nd of Elizabeth to 1688.

A bundle of parchment documents, date A.D. 1357 and thereabouts, containing the Accounts of St. Mary's Guild at that period.

A bundle of paper documents, date A.D. 1360 and thereabouts, also containing Accounts of the Expenditure of St. Mary's Guild.

*MSS. OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE AT PANMURE CASTLE AND BRECHIN CASTLE* (pp. 117-119).

A box marked No. 4. This box contains bundles of unarranged letters and scraps of various kinds.

Many of these letters, as well as the letters in the Charter Room, were addressed to the Honble. Henry Maule, of Kelly, who was an indefatigable collector of Records and an accomplished scholar of the early part of last century. He appears to have been the centre of a group of correspondents, both political and literary. In the former class were all the leading Jacobites of the day, from some of whom in London and at St. Germain's he was in the way of receiving frequent "News Letters" of considerable importance. The letters . . . range in date from 1709 to 1721.

*RECORDS OF THE BURGH OF ABERDEEN* (pp. 121-123).

The Council Registers begin in 1398, and down to 1838, extend to 83 volumes. These Registers are full of curious details on all the circumstances connected with the growth of the burgh. The Records also contain numerous Statutes and Ordinances for the government of the burgh, and the arrangements of its trade.

The accounts of the Guildry begin in 1453, and those of the Treasurer of the burgh in 1569.

The Guild Court Book contains proceedings of the Dean of Guild Court, Lists of Burgesses, &c., from Michaelmas 1637 to 23rd Dec. 1697.

Under the head of "Miscellanea" may be classed . . .

Lists of Temple lands in the shire.

*MSS. IN ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH* (pp. 123-126).

Higdeni Polychronicon, vell. folio, 221 leaves. A good copy in a hand of the end of the fourteenth century, with coloured initial letters and rubrics.

Books on Medicine and Alchemy. One is "Hippocratis aphorismi Hibernice," in a hand of the sixteenth century.

*MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT* (pp. 126-127).

The correspondence consists of about 1,200 original letters, the earliest of which is one written in 1707. The next in order of time is dated 1745, from which period the correspondence extends almost continuously to 1799.

Lord Charlemont, as might have been anticipated from his position and literary and artistic pursuits, numbered among his correspondents many of the most eminent of his contemporaries:—(*inter alia*)

Edmund Burke, Lord Carysfort, Sir W. Chambers, Henry Grattan, Robert Jephson, Sir W. Jones, Duke of Leinster, Richard Rigby, and Arthur Young.

*CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN* (p. 129).

4. Documents of the Monastery All-Hallows and the Dublin Abbey of St. Mary and the Guild of St. George.

5. Books and numerous documents on vellum and paper connected with the transactions of the citizens of Dublin, from the twelfth century.

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## *SECOND REPORT.*

This Report is dated the 23rd May, 1871.

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*MSS. IN THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S STUDY, WOBURN ABBEY* (pp. 1-4).

8. Manuscript Letters, A.D. 1564-1770. Fifty-nine vols. folio.

263. A Booke of severall matters of Trade; begins "London's Complaint against the Stranger"; at p. 15, "A Discourse of Trade, 3rd Sept. 1622, written by Sir Walter Cope." Folio.

265. Instructions for the Master of our Wards and Liveries, &c.

271. Catalogue of Pamphlets, &c., 1719.

*MSS. AT WREST PARK, BEDFORDSHIRE* (pp. 4-9).

The Manuscripts . . . consist of 57 bound volumes, and a great number of letters.

No. 3. Large Folio, vellum, about A.D. 1400. Higden's Polychronicon in Latin, in seven books.

No. 18. Thick folio, paper, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; fol. 1. Chronicle of England. Begins: "In the yere from the beginning of the world 3390 there was in the noble land of Grece a worthy King and a myghty and a man of gret renown that was called Dioclycian."

No. 48. Compendious directions for builders by James Leoni, addressed to Henry, Duke of Kent, K.G., 4to., paper, 41 pages.

*MSS. OF THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, PATSHULL, CO. STAFFORD* (pp. 9-12).

Letter from Dr. Dodd at Plaistow in Essex, dated Nov. 22, 1759. He dissuades Lord Dartmouth from taking holy orders. Lord Dartmouth answered that he had never had any thought of so doing.

[Note.—Dr. Dodd was Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of England.]

*MSS. OF EARL SPENCER, AT SPENCER HOUSE, ST. JAMES'S* (pp. 12-20).

This collection consists, with few exceptions, of letters of the sixteenth seventeenth, and eighteeenth centuries.

The letters of the sixteenth century chiefly relate to Northern and Border matters; those of the seventeenth century are, for the most part, addressed to Geo. Saville, Marquis of Halifax, whose name is well known in the History of England during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The letters of the eighteenth century give much political, social, and literary information. The letters are very numerous.

*MSS. OF THE EARL OF CATHCART, AT THORNTON-LE-STREET, CO. YORK* (pp. 24-30).

1722, Dec. 4. Letter to Lord Cathcart giving an account of night frolics with the Duke of Wharton. He and his friends were drunk, and adjourned to a committee of the whole House. "We met with the Duke of Wharton, as well refreshed as I. He proposed to survey all the ladies in the galleries: I was for turning them all up, but he declined. He proposed to knock up Argyle; I proposed the King." They knocked up the Duke of Argyle, who received them well.

[Note.—The Duke of Wharton was at this date the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.]

*A MS. OF LORD CAMOYS AT STONOR PARK, HENLEY-ON-THAMES* (p. 33).

The library of Lord Camoys . . . contains one manuscript which is worthy of especial notice.

This MS. . . . is of the early part of the fifteenth century.

The first treatise is apparently "The Ladder of Perfection; or a Treatise upon the Contemplative Life."

A poem, in English (by Richard Hampole, called the "Pricke of Conscience"), upon the religious life, what is to be believed, what practised, &c. The poem at present consists of only 13 leaves. It begins:

"The might of the Fadre Almighty,
"The wisdom of the Son Alwitty,
"The grace of the Holy Gost,
"A God and Lord, of mightes most."

*MSS. OF LORD LYTTELTON, HAGLEY, CO. WORCESTER* (pp. 36-39).

The Manuscripts consist chiefly of letters (and copies of letters) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are a few letters and papers of the end of the sixteenth century.

Those of the eighteenth century are interesting; a great number being addressed to George, Lord Lyttelton, well known as the historian of King Henry II. of England. In this century there are letters by the Duchess of Marlborough, Swift, Pope, Fielding, Voltaire, Dr. Johnson, Lord Monboddo, and others.

There are several portfolios of letters. Amongst these are:—

Letters from Pope, Fielding, Garrick, Voltaire, Johnson, Swift, Warburton, Phelps, Horace Walpole.

Letters by H. S. Conway in 1752, 1755, and 1757.

Letters from Geo. Grenville, Thos. Whately his private secretary, Lord Temple, Lord Rodney, Lord Hardwicke, in the middle of the last century.

A bundle of letters from George Lyttelton to his father, 1729 and 1730, from France, Italy, and Venice.

*MSS. OF LORD CALTHORPE, GROSVENOR SQUARE, LONDON* (pp. 39-46).

Vol. XX. A collection of the sixteenth century, chiefly relating to trade, the Merchant Adventurers, and municipal laws of London and Norwich.

The additional volumes in this collection are as follow:

2. Paper, 11in. by 8, written in England early in the XVth century and containing:—(*inter alia*)

3. Secretum philosophorum. f. lxxxj.

*PAMPHLETS OF SIR CHARLES DILKE, BART., at 76, SLOANE STREET* (p. 63).

The pamphlets . . . it is believed contain matter which would be found highly interesting to the student. They fall into 8 groups:—

(4) Relating to the risings under the old Pretender and the young Pretender in 1715 and 1745.

(5) Relating to the life and times of Alexander Pope.

(6) Relating to the political career of Wilkes, and the writings of Junius. These two collections are considered to be very complete.

*MSS. OF SIR RICHARD PULESTON, BART., DECD., WORTHENBURY, CO. FLINT* (pp. 65-68).

The letters and papers here of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are very numerous. They relate to Ireland as well as England, and contain much of interest with regard to social and political matters.

1732-1742. Many letters from George Ross (at Castle Lym, in Ireland) to Dr. Price, of Overton, near Wrexham.

1735-1739. Many letters from the same to Lord Barrymore. These contain local news and are amusing.

1736-1747. A few letters by Sir W. W. Wynne to T. Price.

1732-1746. Nearly 100 letters from Lord Barrymore to Mr. Price.

1740-1746. Letters by Lord Barrymore to Dr. R. Price, of Overton, near Wrexham.

Letters to Mr. R. Ward, of Chester, by . . .

[Note.—These contain references to Dean Swift in 1738.]

*MS. OF MISS AINSLIE, BERWICK-UPON-TWEED* (pp. 68-69).

A Manuscript, in quarto, upon vellum, written about the year 1400, apparently for the use of a member of the Company of Fishmongers, London. It contains the following articles:—

2. A short chronicle, from the creation of the world to A.D. 1388. In Latin; f. 8.

3. A chronicle of events connected with the City of London, from A.D. 1087 to 1388. In Latin; f. 13.

6. Grant by King Edward I. to the Mayor of London of certain sites in London for the support of the fabric of London Bridge, dated 23 May, 10 Edw. I. In Latin; f. 34.

*MSS. OF W. R. BAKER, ESQ., OF BAYFORDBURY, CO. HERTS* (pp. 69-72).

A most interesting collection of letters of the seventeenth, and a few of the eighteenth century, mostly addressed to Jacob Tonson, the friend and publisher of the wits and poets of that time, and founder of the Kit-Cat Club. Mr. Baker is one of his descendants, and possesses nearly all the portraits (painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller) of the members and of the club. The portraits of Jacob Tonson and the Earl of Carbery are very fine; that of Addison not so good. The portrait of John Montague, Duke of Montague, is curious. He expected to be made Knight of the Garter, and, in anticipation, the ribbon was painted over his coat; but he was disappointed, and the ribbon was painted to match the coat. But, as often the case in a "pentimento," the ribbon is visible.

The letters have been laid down in a large folio volume, and are in good preservation.

A letter from Philip Lempriere at Bath, 13 Feb. 1777, to Wm. Baker. He says that the wits and poets used to meet in a public house in Gray's Inn Lane, the sign of a Cat, the man who kept it was called Kit; and they kept the name when they removed to the Devil or Rose Tavern, Temple Bar; he is not sure which.

The Kit-Cat Club, a poem, by R.B. Four leaves, 8vo.

*MSS. OF H. B. MACKESON, ESQ., OF HYTHE, CO. KENT* (pp. 91-92).

Fragments of a book of accounts of the Guild of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary for the reigns of Edw. 4, Hen. 7, and Hen. 8.

*CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE* (pp. 110-116).

A paper folio volume of about 300 pages, bound in old calf, one-third being left in blank; containing building accounts in reference to the "new buildings" at Clare Hall. The latest entry is s.a. 1716. These accounts are very minute and contain many items of interest.

A Letter of Martin Folkes to the Master of Clare Hall (Dr. Charles Morgan) dated January 6, 1727.

Copy of a Letter written originally in Arabic by the Ambassador from Morocco to Martin Folkes, of Hillington, Norfolk, Esquire, and sent with a translation, "by the Interpreter to the Embassy."

A Letter, endorsed (probably by Dr. Morgan):—"Mr. Folkes, December 3, 1728, concerning Mr. Bradly's Discovery relating to Parallax of Fixt Stars. Mr. Whiston still sure of the longitude. Some account of the petrify'd City in Africa."

*GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE* (pp. 116-118).

A Computus Book, containing accounts at the end of each year from 1584 to 1665, small folio, paper, half bound.

Bursars' Book, 1609-34; a large folio, paper, bound in rough calf; it contains the accounts of the College at great length.

Bursars' Book, 1634-61; a large thick folio volume, paper.

Bursars' Book, 1687-1712; a large folio volume.

An ancient Computus, or Bursars' Account-book, a small folio paper volume of 192 pages. No early Computi, on parchment Rolls, are now known to exist, if indeed this College ever had such. This volume, the most ancient that the house possesses, contains the College accounts from 1423 to 1456, 1488 to 1493, and 1508 to 1524.

*JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE* (pp. 118-121).

There are twelve early Computi of College accounts still existing, of the time of Henry VIII., and one of the time of Edward VI.

Of the Nunnery of St. Radegund, only three ancient Rolls seem to have survived to these times; at least, there are only three now in the possession of the College (1449-50, 1450-51, and 1481-82).

*TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE* (pp. 121-123).

Volumes of "Miscellanea," folios, in some instances mere covers loosely enclosing papers, and of varying sizes. The First Volume contains many old papers, all relating more or less to the property or affairs of the College. No. 4 is a small bill for repairs done to the Chapel (1513).

Miscellanea, Vol. 4. This volume contains a number of documents of earlier date than the preceding ones. Among them are Bursars' accounts in 1598, 99, 1600, 6, 7, 8, 1626, 1630, 1. Also 1632-40, and 1677.

*CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD* (p. 126).

A quarto paper volume, in a vellum cover; containing charges for building the College, in the 8th year of Henry VIII. (1517). Its contents are of considerable interest, and seem to merit a close examination.

*EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD* (pp. 127-130).

A large folio volume of about 400 leaves, in old calf binding. The contents are:—(*inter alia*) 8. Instruments relating to the building and consecration of the original chapel of the Founder.

The Computi of this College, still in existence, begin at a very remote date. The earliest of these Computi that I have been able to meet with is that of Stephen de Pippecote, Rector, 1324.

The Computus of John de Kelly, 1326, gives an account of . . . an expenditure of £4-6-11 upon new buildings.

In one of the Computi of Robert de Clist, for 1362, mention is made of John Trevysa, afterwards a Fellow of Queen's College, in this University, whose name is still remembered as one of the early translators of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon. The Rector, among other things, renders account of 46s. 8d. paid to the stone masons who erected the wall on the side of the pleasure garden . . . of 18s. paid to a tiler who repaired all our houses after the great (wind).

In one of the Computi of William Slade, for the year 1383, there is an account for building the College Library. An early item in it is,—"Gloves for the carpenters, 6d." The stone was bought at Teyntone and at Watle (Taynton, near Witney, and Whatley, near Frome, in Somerset, still known for their free-stone). Another item is—"He also renders account of 8½d. paid to the stone-masons for their dinner on the last day (of the building)." "Merendae," or breakfasts, for the masons are mentioned in the account, and dinners and drink for the carriers of the stone and other materials.

*JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD* (p. 130).

Bursars' Account Books, three volumes 1631 to 1686.

*NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD* (p. 132-136).

Five Books. The first is called "Liber Senescalli Coquinae," or "Book of the Steward of the Kitchen." The remaining four are styled respectively "Liber Senescalli Aulae," or "Book of the Hall Steward," an office which was taken by the Fellows in turns. A number of extracts . . . are here inserted.

P. 1—"On Thursday two stonemasons (lathami) came to dine with the Fellows.

On the same day one plumber came to dine with the Fellows."

P. 25—"On Sunday, W. Broun, the stonemason, came to dine with the Fellows, and another labourer to dine with the servants." P. 42—"On Thursday came four stone masons, one brickmaker, Thomas Zelby, and the son of Prewes, to dine with the Fellows." P. 322—"On Friday came a marbler (marmorarius) to dine with the Fellows."

In the third volume the entries of invitations to dinner are far less numerous, and some classes which had formerly dined with the Fellows are now relegated to the servants' table.

[Note.—These extracts show status of stonemasons during the period covered, but further extracts might amplify the available data.]

*ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD* (pp. 136-137).

A paper Book of Computi, or Treasurers' Accounts, 1409-1415, in small quarto form, containing 222 pages. The accounts (in Latin) are set forth with

the greatest clearness throughout the volume. Among the "Expenses of the workmen" are the following:—(Trans.) "Also, for the plumber at the Church at St. Mary, 13s. 4d. Also, we gave to the same plumber a gown, which we had as a mortuary gift, so that he might be favourable,"—meaning, probably, moderate in his charges. In p. 77, under the head of "Expenses of workmen upon the Gate," the stone is mentioned as being brought from Shottover; the same soft crumbling stone so commonly to be seen at Oxford at the present day. Among the "Expenses" in p. 105 are the items:—"Also, paid for gloves given to thé Bailiffs, 14d."

A thick small quarto paper volume, in a tattered condition, containing the Treasurers' Computi from 1450 to 1482.

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### *QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD* (pp. 137-142).

Eight Computi Books of the Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Receipts and Expenditure of the College from 1593 to 1790.

Book of Accounts for building the new Library of the College, 1691-3, a small quarto paper volume, in limp parchment.

An old Expense-Book of the College, folio, leaves of paper without a cover: it is in Latin, and the writing is probably of the close of the fifteenth century.

The College was founded in 1340. The oldest of its Computi, now existing, dates as early as—from "the Saturday after the Feast of St. Gregory to the Feast of St. Michael then next ensuing," in 1347.

The next Computus, apparently, is that of Robert Hoddirsale, but of uncertain date, and is mostly occupied with items of expenditure upon the College Chapel. One of 1350 has no name of the Bursar mentioned in it, and is in very bad condition. The next rolls that have been preserved are those of 1351 and 1354. A Computus, apparently for 1354, 5, is almost illegible: that for 1357-9 is mutilated at the beginning; being followed by one of Henry Witfeld, Bursar, in 1359, and two other Computi of Richard Fancourt 1359, 60, and 1361. A Computus of Master Henry de Hopton follows, for 1361, 2, and one of William de Wiltone for 1362.

In the Computus of Robert Blakedone for 1372, 3, the name of John Trevisa appears as a Fellow. . . . Another item is, "iiid. pro nonshyns ad eosdem stonemasons,"—"3 pence for nuncheons for the same stonemasons."

In the Roll for 1385, 6, without name of the Bursar, under "Chapel Expenses," are the items— . . . "To a mason, 2d." This roll is very full and minute in its details.

Numbers of these rolls, belonging to the fifteenth century, are still in existence; their length generally increasing, as they become of more recent date. The whole of them, in my opinion, deserve a thorough examination.

In the College Bursary there are many scores, perhaps some hundreds of parchment Computi of the House of God, or Hospital of St. Julian, at Southampton, beginning at the reign of Edward I., and coming down to the time of Charles I.

### *TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD* (pp. 142-143).

A small quarto paper volume, in old binding, labelled "Computi Burss., et Miscell. Coll. 1556-1669."

### *MSS. OF CORPORATION OF ABINGDON.—ADDITIONAL REPORT* (pp. 149-150).

Chamberlains' Accounts of the Borough of Abingdon, A.D. 1583-7.
Chamberlains' Accounts of the Borough of Abingdon, A.D. 1558-81.

In addition to the two preceding series of Accounts, there are still existing six mutilated leaves of an oblong folio book, or set, of Accounts, of probably earlier date.

*PAPERS OF THE EARL OF STRATHMORE AT GLAMIS CASTLE* (pp. 185-186).

In a "Book of Record" which he (the first Earl of Strathmore) kept he has recorded the condition of the buildings both at Glamis and Castle Lyon at the time of his succession (1646), and the additions and alterations which he made.

He has also preserved the contracts which he entered into with the artists and tradesmen by whom his designs were carried out.

*PAPERS OF THE EARL OF STAIR* (pp. 188-191).

The Stair Papers have been arranged in 28 volumes folio and 1 volume 4to. They comprise correspondence from 1709 to 1746.

[Note.—The Earl of Stair's correspondents included Lord Albemarle, Lord Cobham, Alexander Cunningham, Mr. Norris, R. Arbuthnot, I. Craggs, Ch. Delafaye and other early Freemasons.]

*MSS. OF THE EARL OF ROSSLYN, AT DYSART HOUSE* (pp. 191-192).

There is an extensive collection of Letters, ranging in date from 1774 to 1830. They were addressed to the first and second Earls of Rosslyn. They include:—

15. A series from the Earl of Carnarvon, 1793-94.
17. A series from Lord Moira, 1796-97.

*PAPERS OF LORD TORPHICHEN AT CALDER HOUSE* (p. 196).

There is in the Charter Room a series of papers of general scope and interest, connected with the history of the Knight Templars in Scotland, whose estates became vested in the family of Sandilands at the period of the Reformation.

Among the many papers connected with the Templar possessions are some which show the steps by which Mr. James Sandilands was promoted to the office of Preceptor of the Order.

Besides the writs which illustrate the proceedings . . . there are Royal charters of privilege and confirmation by Alexander II. and Robert I. in favour of the House of the Templars.

There is also a Commission by the Grand Master of the Order in 1532 to the Preceptor, allowing him to feu out the lands which lay more remote from their house, and "because much effusion of christian blood had been caused by the inability of the Preceptor to defend the possessions of the Preceptory with the armed hand."

*PAPERS OF JAMES FORBES LEITH, ESQ. of WHITEHAUGH* (pp. 198-199).

There are several volumes of old rentals and Registers of Baron Courts.

Among these manuscripts I noted a quarto volume in a vellum cover, being the book of accounts of George, third Earl of Winton, beginning in January 1627.

The Earl was a man of great magnificence and energy. By him the quaint old house at Winton was erected during 1620, in which year "he founded and built the great house from the foundation, with all the large stone dykes about the precinct, park, orchard, and gardens thereof."

the greatest clearness throughout the volume. Among the "Expenses of the workmen" are the following:—(Trans.) "Also, for the plumber at the Church at St. Mary, 13s. 4d. Also, we gave to the same plumber a gown, which we had as a mortuary gift, so that he might be favourable,"—meaning, probably, moderate in his charges. In p. 77, under the head of "Expenses of workmen upon the Gate," the stone is mentioned as being brought from Shottover; the same soft crumbling stone so commonly to be seen at Oxford at the present day. Among the "Expenses" in p. 105 are the items:—"Also, paid for gloves given to thé Bailiffs, 14d."

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*PAPERS OF LORD TORPHICHEN AT CALDER HOUSE* (p. 196).

There is in the Charter Room a series of papers of general scope and interest, connected with the history of the Knight Templars in Scotland, whose estates became vested in the family of Sandilands at the period of the Reformation.

Among the many papers connected with the Templar possessions are some which show the steps by which Mr. James Sandilands was promoted to the office of Preceptor of the Order.

Besides the writs which illustrate the proceedings . . . there are Royal charters of privilege and confirmation by Alexander II. and Robert I. in favour of the House of the Templars.

There is also a Commission by the Grand Master of the Order in 1532 to the Preceptor, allowing him to feu out the lands which lay more remote from their house, and "because much effusion of christian blood had been caused by the inability of the Preceptor to defend the possessions of the Preceptory with the armed hand."

*PAPERS OF JAMES FORBES LEITH, ESQ. of WHITEHAUGH* (pp. 198-199).

There are several volumes of old rentals and Registers of Baron Courts.

Among these manuscripts I noted a quarto volume in a vellum cover, being the book of accounts of George, third Earl of Winton, beginning in January 1627.

The Earl was a man of great magnificence and energy. By him the quaint old house at Winton was erected during 1620, in which year "he founded and built the great house from the foundation, with all the large stone dykes about the precinct, park, orchard, and gardens thereof."

In the Book of Accounts are many entries for . . . some of the stone dykes just referred to.

The following are specimens of the entries:—

"Item, the (10), gewine to William Peddenn maissone in pairte of payment for his winning and working of the haile herthe stones and pavement for the kitcheine of Wintoune, 40 lib.

Item, Oct. 23 (1628), gewine to William Wallace in the first ende of his taske for taking downe of my old house in the Cannogaitte, and for putting up of my foir entrie thair, 100 lib."

*MSS. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN* (pp. 199-201).

Its records are very numerous. They may be divided into:—

. . . . . .

(3.) Papers regarding the fabric, library, and moveable property of the College.

Of these a selection was printed in 1854 for the members of the Spalding Club. This volume may be said to contain most of the papers of general interest, and assuming that it makes them sufficiently accessible to historical students, I shall confine this report to a notice of the manuscripts in the library which are not there described.

*MSS. of WILLIAM KING, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, DUBLIN* (pp. 231-257).

This collection consists of papers and letters addressed to, written by, or connected with William King, from 1681 to 1729.

The present collection contains several letters in the handwriting of King, and some addressed to him by the following, amongst hundreds from numerous correspondents of lesser note:—

Sir Richard Cox; Charles Delafaye; Lord Mountjoy; Lord Southwell &c.

Letter to Lord Sunderland from Charles Delafaye dated June 15th 1715 and written from Bath.

Letter by Charles Delafaye dated from Bath, May 25th 1715 as to a parcel of Jacobite letters addressed to Dean Swift.

*THE TOWN OF KILKENNY* (pp. 257-262).

"A Register or Breviat of the Antiquities and Statutes of the Town of Kilkenny, with other antiquities collected by me, Robert Rothe, of the same, Esquier."

The Documents transcribed in the present volume from the lost portion of Liber 2. and other sources include enactments and proceedings of the Commonalty of Kilkenny between 1500 and 1544 on the following subjects:—

Artificers. Banquets and the order thereof. Carpenters and orders for them. Craftsmen. Customs. Freedom and freemen. Masons and their work. Meat to carpenters and labourers the night before they enter to work, or on holy days. Prentices. Walls of the Town. Etc., etc.

# Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

## THURSDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1923.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., W.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, I.P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P., S.W.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., as J.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; J. Heron Lepper, S.D.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., W.Yorks., J.D.; W. W. Covey-Crump, I.G.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. Colvin Watson, L. A. Engel, F. Johnstone, F. C. Stoate, J. Rowbotham, H. R. Wood, John Harrison, W. J. Williams, L. G. Wearing, C. N. Ffolliott, E. H. Perry, Geo. C. Williams, Geo. Turner, Chas. McCullagh, E. Pickstone, W. O. Steinthal, P.G.D., T. M. Lowry, J. Walter Hobbs, Max. Infeld, H. Chown, P.G.Pt., H. Lovegrove, P.A.G.Sup.W., A. G. Harper, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., W. Cowlishaw, Robt. Bridge, R. W. Councell, Harry Bladon, P.G.St.B., A. Presland, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., W. T. J. Gun, Peter Lewis, H. G. Gold, William Lewis, A. D. Bowl, F. E. Gould, Hervey Bathurst, E. W. Marson, R. C. Rann, R. F. J. Colsell, F. Fighiera, P.A.G.D.C., W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., E. B. Cozens-Brooke, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., A. E. Wynter, F. J. Asbury, A. Heiron, C. W. Braine, H. F. Stephens, W. Young Hucks, F. Bare, J. Goldstein, R. J. Sadleir, G. Derrick, Chas. S. Ayling, H. Franklin, S. E. Burrows, Ivor Grantham, S. W. Culley, R. J. Hatfield, P.A.G.D.C., H. S. Mattocks, Herbert Warren, H. A. Matheson, David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., and Dr. H. G. Rosedale, P.G.Ch.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Rowan, Kirby Lodge No. 2818; H. Bryant, Borough Polytechnic Lodge No. 3540; Frank Grove, W.M., Constitution Lodge No. 3392; F. Jones, J.W., Letchworth Lodge No. 3505; S. G. Cole, Barnato Lodge No. 2265; W. L. Jackson, Armament Lodge No. 3898; S. J. Fox, W.M., Victoria Lodge No. 1056; R. S. Sheppard, P.M., Hendon Lodge No. 2206; W. S. Lanes, Lebanon Lodge No. 1326; I. G. McAfee, P.G.W., Ireland; and Arthur H. Lines, P.G.St.B.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C.; and Wm. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.

On Ballot taken

Bro. George Norman; Past Master of the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, Bath; Past Provincial Grand Warden, Somerset; Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, England; of No. 12, Brock Street, Bath. Doctor of Medicine. Author of "The Masonic Halls of Bath"; "Freemasonry and the Ancient Mysteries"; "The Great Arcanum"; "Notes on Antient Working"; "The Provincial Grand Mark Lodge of Somerset"; and "The Masonic Lodges of Bath"; which have appeared in the *Transactions* of the Somerset Masters Lodge, 1916-1922,

and

Bro. Rev. Herbert Poole, B.A.; United Industrious Lodge No. 31, Canterbury, and present Master of the Winder Lodge No. 3984, Sedbergh; of Sedbergh School, Sedbergh, Yorkshire. Clerk in Holy Orders. Author of "The Thistle MS."; "The Trade Guilds of Kendal"; which have appeared in *A.Q.C.*; and "Masonic Ritual before 1717," in preparation,

were regularly elected joining members of the Lodge.

One Lodge and Twenty-four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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R.W. Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, Past Grand Warden, President of the Board of General Purposes, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and was regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, assisted by Bros. Ed. Armitage, Gordon P. G. Hills, and J. P. Simpson.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

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| Bro. J. Heron Lepper | S.W. |
| ,, John Stokes | J.W. |
| ,, Ed. Armitage | Treasurer. |
| ,, W. J. Songhurst | Secretary. |
| ,, Gordon P. G. Hills | D.C. |
| ,, W. W. Covey-Crump | S.D. |
| ,, Geo. Norman | J.D. |
| ,, H. Poole | I.G. |
| ,, J. H. MacNaughton | Tyler. |

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The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—"That Brother Roderick Hildegar Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., East Lancs., having completed his year of Office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge; and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

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The Secretary drew attention to the following

## EXHIBITS.

By Bro. W. Wonnacott.

Two Apron Cases, of Continental make. The Masonic designs are executed in Bead-work.

By Bro. L. Vibert.

Book of Constitutions, Second Edition, with Title-pages of 1738 and 1746.

By Bro. Cecil Powell.

Tracing Board, Combined Craft and R.A., recently presented by him to the Bristol Masonic Society. The origin of the Board is unknown. (*See Illustration.*)

By the Secretary.

Silver Gilt Jewel, Oval, with Craft and R.A. designs engraved. No date, but with a former owner's name—"Thos. Turner. No. 192."

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A vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

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The W.M. then delivered the following

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

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Brethren,

I CANNOT begin my Inaugural Address as Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge without acknowledging in all cordiality and with all sincerity the pleasure and pride that have been given me by acceptance of the position. To be chosen as chief Officer for the year of a Lodge which has contained some of the most eminent students of the immediate past, and has produced fruits of research of the highest importance to Freemasonry, is an honour to which an ordinary Mason hardly dares to aspire, and an honour for which, when conferred on him, he cannot be anything but deeply grateful.

It has been the custom in this Lodge for each succeeding Master on the night of his Installation to address the Brethren upon some subject of Masonic interest which, as a rule, has been one of research. To-night I will follow that example, but with the idea of searching, not so much into the past as into the present of Freemasonry. Every historian in the Craft, I think, will agree with me in thinking that, if our departed Brethren had concerned themselves with various phases of its evolution, as that evolution proceeded and developed, we should have been spared to-day much speculation and error. I, therefore, propose to take as my theme on this occasion the problems presented to the Craft to-day by spurious, imitative, or associated Freemasonry. In this regard, I do not think it necessary to deal specifically or at any length with those bodies that all of us would recognise as covered by the eighth in order of the summarised Antient Charges and Regulations which are promised to be supported by every Master-Elect on his coming into the Chair. This clause gives a pledge "to respect genuine and true Brethren and to discountenance all Imposters and all Dissenters from the original plan of Freemasonry." All of us have a fairly clear idea of the bodies embraced in that category, but the organisations which are now to be subjected to review are those on the border-line. It was told me in my youth by an elementary science teacher that there was no difficulty, broadly speaking, in saying what was an animal and what was a vegetable. No one would mistake a cabbage for an animal, or an elephant for a vegetable; but the question became more difficult when one was asked exactly to place a sponge. It is with, what I may term, the sponges of Freemasonry that I now wish to deal, absorbent bodies, difficult to define, possibly having their uses in certain directions, but apt to become dangerous if allowed to spread with too great ease and rapidity.

This problem is not merely speculative. It may seriously affect the immediate future of the Craft in this country, as it already is doing our Brethren in other countries in friendly relationship with ourselves. In our own Jurisdiction, specifically according to the first clause in our *Book of Constitutions*, it is "declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, namely, those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch." This extremely limited provision would seem to exclude from strict Masonic contemplation not only Mark Masonry, but all those associated with our body which work what are variously termed 'the Allied,' 'the Higher,' or 'the additional' degrees. In point of practice we know that the exclusion is not of so rigid a kind. The Mark Degree, for example, with its subordinate part,

the Royal Ark Mariners, are informally acknowledged as kindred organisations by even strict Craftsmen. Many of our most excellent and eminent Brethren are Knights Templar, or members of the Rose Croix, the Royal Order of Scotland, the Red Cross of Constantine, the Rosicrucian Society, the Order of the Secret Monitor, and the Order of the Scarlet Cord. Some of our most eminent belong to the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters and the Grand Council of the Allied Degrees; while there is the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite with its nominal 33 degrees, the Supreme Council of which avoids conflict with our Grand Lodge by not working the first three.

As long as Brethren who own allegiance to these respective bodies have done nothing specifically to forfeit their allegiance to the United Grand Lodge of England no objection is taken, but, by the *Book of Constitutions*, it is strictly enjoined that "No honorary or other jewel, medal, device, or emblem shall be worn in Grand Lodge or any subordinate Lodge which shall not appertain to or be consistent with those degrees which are recognised and acknowledged by the Grand Lodge as part of pure and Antient Masonry." In practice, this regulation prevents the wearing of any insignia in Lodges which are not those of the Craft and the Royal Arch, and strict action has been taken in the past on more than one occasion against Brethren who have infringed this condition. In one instance, this regulation was carried to such a length that it is to be found recorded in the Grand Lodge Proceedings for the Quarterly Communication of December, 1853, that the then Grand Master (the then Earl of Zetland) stated that he had been under the painful necessity of removing from his position Bro. William Tucker, the Provincial Grand Master for Dorset, "in consequence of his having thought proper to appear in his Provincial Grand Lodge in the costume and with jewels appertaining to what were termed *higher degrees* and not sanctioned or acknowledged by Grand Lodge, and which militated against the universality of Freemasonry." He added that he felt much respect for Bro. Tucker personally, but the act was so completely at variance with the laws of Grand Lodge that it left him no alternative. The regulation was further emphasized by the Board of General Purposes at its meeting on January 19th, 1869, when a letter from a Brother was read saying that he had seen Knights Templar jewels worn in a Lodge, and asking what course to pursue. The Grand Secretary—at that time Bro. John Hervey—was instructed to reply that such proceeding was at variance with the regulation of the *Book of Constitutions*. It will be seen, therefore, that, as far as the bodies under notice are concerned, the position of Grand Lodge is one of toleration, provided the other bodies do not attempt to pass over the borderline thus clearly laid down.

In the case of the Mark Degree, the question of its relation to the Craft has been definitely under the consideration of Grand Lodge, and it is important to recall how the question was viewed by some of the most skilled and experienced Masons of seventy years ago, represented on a special Committee jointly appointed by the Board of General Purposes and Grand Chapter. That Joint Committee entered upon an enquiry and an investigation, as far as could be done by a body some members of which had not been admitted to the Mark Degree; and it came to a unanimous resolution that, while the degree did not form a portion of the Royal Arch degree and was not essential to Craft Masonry, there was nothing objectionable in it, or anything which militated against the universality of Freemasonry, and "that it might be considered as forming a graceful addition to the Fellow Craft's Degree." The Earl of Zetland, as Grand Master, approved, and directed that the report of the Committee should be laid before Grand Lodge, which then unanimously resolved, "That the Degree of Mark Mason or Mark Master is not at variance with the Antient Landmarks of the Order, and that the Degree be an addition to and form part of Craft Masonry; and, consequently, may be conferred by all regular warranted Lodges, under such regulations as shall be prepared by the Board of General Purposes, approved and sanctioned by the M.W. Grand Master." This resolution seemed to settle the matter for all time; but, at the ensuing Quarterly Communication

—that of June, 1856—when the Minutes of March 5th were read, and were proposed to be confirmed, an amendment was moved, "that such portions as relate to the subject of the Mark Masons be not confirmed"; and this, after some discussion, was carried. The question has not been raised in active form since.

The relationship of Grand Lodge to these other degrees, to which many of its members belong, is, therefore, somewhat confused and, to that extent, unsatisfactory; but, speaking generally, an *entente cordiale* has been established in this Jurisdiction which prevents friction or overlapping. When, however, any attempt has been made directly or indirectly to associate Women with Freemasonry, Grand Lodge, within these past few years, has taken a strong line. At the Quarterly Communication of September 3rd, 1919, the report of the Board of General Purposes stated, "That the Board's attention is being increasingly drawn to the sedulous endeavours which are being made by certain bodies unrecognised as Masonic by the United Grand Lodge of England to induce Freemasons to join in their assemblies. As all such bodies which admit women to membership are clandestine and irregular, it is necessary to caution Brethren against being inadvertently led to violate their obligations by becoming members of them or attending their meetings. Grand Lodge in 1910 approved the action of the Board in suspending two Brethren who had contumaciously failed to explain the grave Masonic irregularity to which attention is now again called; and it is earnestly hoped that no occasion will arise for having again to institute disciplinary proceedings of a like kind." The problem came more precisely before Grand Lodge at the Quarterly Communication of March 2nd, 1921, when specifically Grand Lodge adopted a report of the Board, which recommended that there should not be granted the prayer of a petition presented on behalf of the "Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry," asking for recognition of that Body which "modelled its constitutions and Ritual upon those of the United Grand Lodge of England, departing therefrom only in one matter of the admission of women." In another form, the question was again presented to Grand Lodge six months later, when Grand Lodge agreed *nemine contradicente* to the declaration that "no Freemason is entitled to attend any non-Masonic meeting at which Freemasonry by direct implication is introduced, or to participate in any ceremony which is quasi-Masonic or is held under some pseudo-Masonic and unauthorised auspices."

In yet a further way the matter came before Grand Lodge in that same year, 1921, and mid-way between the taking of the two decisions just recorded. In this case the Board of General Purposes emphasized "the necessity for the greatest caution being exercised by Brethren in dealing with Bodies which, from a Masonic point of view, are clandestine or irregular. Brethren who served their country in a special capacity during the War are being invited to attend an 'Order,' the objects of which are stated to be 'good fellowship, harmony, and benevolence.' While the body is not called Masonic, it officially states that there is a Grand Council composed of those who have passed the Chair, and that the Council grants charters and dispensations for the founding, opening, and consecration of Lodges. 'There is a ceremony of initiation, simple and impressive, while in each of such Lodges is an altar'; while again, to quote from the authorised statement, 'the Lodge is dressed and regalia worn by the officers, and in two Lodges already formed are to be found Freemasons who take a great interest in the Society.' The claim made in the last sentence deserves serious consideration, and the greatest caution is enjoined upon Brethren when invited to assemblies of the kind indicated."

While other facts can be given from our recent history showing the jealous regard which is being taken by the authorities of Grand Lodge to prevent imitative Freemasonry from spreading in England, and strictly emphasising the necessity for the closest scrutiny of bodies which demand any kind of Masonic test for entrants, it is not in our own Jurisdiction alone that these troubles are to be found. As recently as 1922, the Grand Lodge of Ireland caused an addition to be made to its regulations dealing with any society that requires

Freemasonry as qualification for membership, and its decision on this subject is worth quotation in full.

"No member of any Lodge under the Jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland shall be a member of or attend any meeting of any body or society which requires Freemasonry as a basis of or qualification for membership, except of such bodies as are included in the Calendar published annually by the authority of Grand Lodge.

"If any Lodge, or member of a Lodge, shall give any information as to the standing of a member in reply to an enquiry from any such non-recognised body, it shall be deemed to be un-Masonic conduct and may be dealt with accordingly.

"Members of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland are forbidden to join or belong to Clubs or other Bodies purporting to be or calling themselves Masonic, unless such Clubs or Bodies have been sanctioned by the Grand Master or the Deputy Grand Master, or if in a Masonic Province, by the Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy, or if abroad in a country under the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge recognised by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by such Grand Lodge. Such sanction may at any time be withdrawn without notice."

But it is when we cross the Atlantic that we find the greatest amount of trouble arise. I have already given a number of outer-bodies as existing in England to which no formal objection is taken, but the spread of such bodies in America is, in these times, so rapid, and their sporadic growth is so remarkable, that it is difficult to keep in touch with even the names of these new organisations. We, in this country, know nothing, for example, of the Ancient Egyptian Order of Sciots, an organisation popular throughout California, and in those American States West of the Rocky Mountains, and it is already possessed of a large number of members steadily growing larger. We know as little of the composition of the Order of the Shrine, the official title of which is, "Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine," made up entirely of men, which requires membership in the Knights Templar or Scottish Rite, and which has a large number of members in nearly all parts of the United States, and the Annual Conventions of which in various of the greater American cities are occasions of much demonstration and rejoicing. There are the Tall Cedars of Lebanon, intended for men who are Masons and claim to have reached a considerable proficiency in the esoteric work, the strength of this body being mostly in the Eastern States, but is now extending to the Southern. The Order of the Eastern Star, which is for women alone, and association with which is forbidden by the United Grand Lodge of England to English Masons, has now an American membership of more than 400,000.

But more striking even than these is the rapid growth in America during the past few years of Orders intended only for boys and girls. In the comparatively young Order of DeMolay for Boys, which is spreading with great speed in the United States, the Candidate has to declare that he is a firm believer in the one Living and True God, and that his father either is or is not a Freemason, and he has to give the names of at least four Masonic relations, and of four adult persons who have known him for three years; while nomination for membership must be made by either two members of the Chapter he wishes to join, or by two Freemasons; and charters for Chapters can be issued only by a recognised Masonic body which promises to carry on the work. Instituted as recently as the spring of 1919, it seems to be outstripping in rapidity of growth the Order of the Builders for Boys, which is of about the same age, and was instituted by members of a Lodge of Perfection of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. The object of the body is declared to be to organise between the ages of 14 and 21 sons of members of Lodges of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, and their immediate or closest boyhood companions in order to aid in advancing their mental, moral, physical, and spiritual up-bringing and development, but there can also become members such Master Masons "as are interested in the promotion and welfare of the Order, and as are necessary to exercise supervision and guidance for its conduct and maintenance."

For the other sex has been instituted the Order of the Rainbow for Girls between 14 and 18 years of age, which is American in scope, and bears the same relationship to Girls as the Order of DeMolay does to Boys, claiming to "inculcate the love of God, home, and country, putting special stress upon the American Public School System, and political and religious liberty as guaranteed by the American Constitution." This Order is for girls who are too young for membership of the Order of the Eastern Star; but for those of their elders who wish to proceed beyond the Eastern Star there is the Order of the White Shrine of Jerusalem, eligibility for membership of which is good standing in the Eastern Star, though the body does not claim to be in any way connected with that Order. Its whole legend, it may be noted, is essentially Christian. Beyond even this there is the Order of the Grotto, or the Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm, which is another social organisation similar to the "Shrine," but admits members of Craft Lodges, and has a large number of members in the Middle and Eastern States.

It is not an unnatural consequence of the jealousies and growth of these very various imitative organisations that Craft Masonry in certain of the States is becoming alarmed at their rapid increase. One American Grand Master, who incidentally is strongly in favour of the Eastern Star and the DeMolay Order for Boys, roundly denounces as Masonic Parasites various other bodies which seek to make membership in Masonry a pre-requisite to their own membership, and he most seriously has asked the attention of his Grand Lodge to the question of whether it would not be well to legislate against such a practice. Another State Grand Master, when recently denouncing the attempts of various "miscellaneous organisations," basing their membership on Craft Masonry, to rush Craft Masons through a maze of higher degrees before, as he picturesquely says, "they are literally dry behind the ears," confesses his weakness when confronted with the present position. "We have not confidence enough in our own intelligence to attempt to formulate a remedy," he says, "but feel sure that someone will suggest one before long that will do good. We have scattered until our force is greatly weakened, and the time is right for the return of a consolidation of our activities. Could we abolish all save Lodges and Chapters, we would be the gainers, and some sweet day we may find it necesary to do just that."

I could produce a whole volume of evidence from various recent records of Masonic work in the United States to show how this sponge-like growth is spreading in American Masonry, and is threatening certain of the best interests of the Craft, but I have given sufficient testimony, I think, to satisfy our Brethren that the price of Masonry, as of liberty, is eternal vigilance. While willing to believe that nothing but the highest motives are entertained by those who promote these outer organisations or those who patronise their mysteries and share in their assemblies, I am strongly convinced that the policy of constant and close watchfulness, up to now pursued by the United Grand Lodge of England when dealing with outside bodies, has been fully justified by its results, and is the only one that can truly uphold the dignity and high importance of Freemasonry as we ourselves know it, feel it, and hope to transmit it pure and unsullied to our successors as we have received it. It is because of this belief that I have ventured to take this opportunity to lay before so influential a Lodge, and so representative a body of its members and associates certain facts bearing upon a question which I am sure will do something to stimulate research in a direction that, up to now, as far as England is concerned, has been strangely neglected by those who should watch with the closest earnestness the ever-changing signs of the times.

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At the subsequent banquet, Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master":—

Brethren,

Having been privileged to place the Rt. Wor. Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins in the Chair of this important Lodge, of which the members of both the Outer

and the Inner Circles are so justifiably proud, another pleasing duty now awaits me—that of telling you something of our Brother's career, professionally, socially and masonically.

Our W.M. was born at Launceston, Cornwall, on the 1st August, 1856, being the youngest son of the late Richard Robbins, who took a public part in the affairs of that ancient Cornish town, and of Mary Farthing, his wife.

After a liberal education at the Grammar School of his native town he adopted the profession of journalism in 1871, in which career he may fairly claim to have made a name as important as that which he has also achieved in our own Craft of Masonry.

Our W.M. became the London Correspondent of the *Birmingham Daily Post* on the 1st of January, 1888, and has throughout the forty-five years that have elapsed since that time been recognised as one of the most able exponents in that branch of his professional work. It is his intention to relinquish the position at the end of the current year, much to the regret of all his colleagues. He was chosen as a Fellow of the Institute of Journalists in 1898, became President of the London District in 1903 and President of the Institute itself in 1907 after having previously filled the office of Vice-President. On the creation of the Executive Committee of the Institute, in 1912, Bro. Robbins was elected to that body, and subsequently held the position of Treasurer for six years, and has been since 1911 Chairman of the Institute's Orphanage Fund.

In 1907 Bro. Robbins was appointed to the Society of Dramatic Critics, and later joined the Critics' Circle of the Institute of Journalists, of which he is now an honorary member. In the capacity of a dramatic critic he naturally became a recognised figure as a "first nighter."

Any Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge must necessarily have done some literary work, but our present W.M. has a record in that direction perhaps exceeding that of many of his predecessors. As a playwright he has produced *Helps*, 1877; *A Pleasant Hour*, 1878; *Vote by Ballot* (printed for private circulation), 1880; *Over the Cliff, or By Accident or Design*, 1884; *Notes and Gold*, 1885; *Mixed Marriages*, 1895; and, in conjunction with Mr. Paul Morris, *An Eye for An Eye, or Paying off Old Scores*, first performed in 1901.

In another branch of literature he contributed to *The Yorkshireman*, a Bradford publication, eighteen essays on *Notable Living Yorkshiremen*, following these next year with a serial story of the Press and the Stage, entitled *In Doubt.* A widely-circulated political pamphlet appeared from our Brother's pen in 1879, and three years later his politico-biographical essays, *William Edward Forster, the Man and his Policy*, and *The Marquis of Salisbury, a Personal and Political Sketch*, followed. A detailed biography, entitled *The early Public Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, came out in 1894, which some time previously had been preceded by *Practical Politics, or the Liberalism of To-day; Sir Reville Grenville, the Knight of the West; Launceston, Past and Present;* and many other political and social works and essays.

As a clubman our W.M. is a member of the National Liberal, the Past Masters' and the O.P. Clubs, of which last named he was Vice-President in 1901 and President in 1903.

In 1917, His Most Gracious Majesty the King was pleased to confer on R.W. Bro. Robbins the dignity of a Knight Bachelor, and although we have previously had in our Lodge six other Knights—as well as one who declined the honour—this is only the third occasion on which the actual occupant of the Chair has been so distinguished.

To come now to our R.W. Bro.'s Masonic career, I find that he first saw the light of Freemasonry in the Gallery Lodge No. 1928—the earliest Press Lodge in the world—in 1888, reaching the Chair in 1901. He has been Almoner of his Mother Lodge since 1892, in which office he has been particularly energetic. He became a joining member of the Jubilee Masters' Lodge No. 2712 in 1903, and succeeded to the Chair in 1909. During his term as W.M. he had the honour of entertaining the Most Worshipful the Grand Master, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn. In our own Lodge Bro.

Robbins joined the Correspondence Circle in 1899, and was admitted to full membership in 1919. His contributions to our *Transactions* have been just exactly of the kind we would expect from a Brother of his profession, involving as they do laborious searches through old files. They include *The Earliest Years of English Organised Freemasonry* (*A.Q.C.* xxii., 67); *A Newly Discovered Print of the Roberts Pamphlet* (xxii., 185); *Dr. Anderson of the Constitutions* (xxiii., 6); and *Frederick Prince of Wales as a Freemason* (xxix., 327).

In 1906 Bro. Robbins joined the International Masonic Club and was its Vice-President from 1909 to 1913. He is a founder and was for three years a member of the Committee of the Past Masters' Club, which was formed in 1911.

In Grand Lodge our W.M. received his first collar in 1908, when he was appointed to the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and two years later he was nominated by the M.W. Grand Master to a seat on the Board of General Purposes, whereon he rendered yeoman service as Chairman of the Library, Arts and Publications Committee, and the Colonial, Indian and Foreign Committee. He was appointed by the Grand Master as President of the Board of General Purposes and invested by His Royal Highness in person in 1913, a position he still occupies, thus having exceeded in length of service any of his predecessors in that very important office. In acknowledgment of this long service, and, I may add, in appreciation of the tact and ability displayed in the discharge of the difficult and onerous duties of the position, the distinction of Past Grand Warden was conferred upon him at the Grand Festival of the current year. He has been for four years the hard-working Chairman of the special Committee appointed by Grand Lodge to prepare a scheme for bringing to fruition the Grand Master's appeal for a Masonic Million Memorial Fund to commemorate the sacrifices of the Brethren during the War by the erection of a Central Masonic Home in London. This is a work which I know our W.M. has specially at heart, and we all hope that the successes which he has already achieved in the project will be triumphantly completed before he relinquishes the trust.

In the Royal Arch Degree Bro. Robbins was exalted in the Gallery Chapter No. 1928 in the Diamond Jubilee year of her late Majesty Queen Victoria. He reached the First Principal's Chair in 1904, and was Treasurer from 1911 to 1914. In Grand Chapter he has successively held the past ranks of Standard Bearer, Assistant Sojourner, Principal Sojourner and Scribe Nehemiah.

As a Mark Mason our W.M. is a Past Grand Master Overseer, and he has taken the associated degree of Royal Ark Mariner.

The Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario appointed Bro. Robbins as its Representative at the Grand Lodge of England in 1915, and he has since been similarly appointed to represent the Grand Lodges of South Dakota and Iowa.

In addition to the great charitable work our W.M. has done in his Mother Lodge and in other spheres of life he is a Vice-Patron and member of the House Committee of the R.M.I.G. and Vice-President of the R.M.I.B. and R.M.B.I.

It would hardly have been possible for such a long and arduous Masonic career as that of our new W.M. to have passed without some striking incidents. Chief amongst these may be ranked the fact that all his four sons have, like himself, become initiates of the Gallery Lodge. The eldest three were admitted by their father on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his own initiation, in the presence of the M.W. Pro Grand Master, who similarly attended when the youngest son joined the Craft, six years after his brothers.

Lady Robbins was Miss Ellen Pitt, of Hitchin, the marriage of the happy pair having taken place on 22nd April, 1882, and, in addition to the four sons already mentioned, there is one daughter of the union.

There can be no doubt that we have this day placed in the Chair of our Lodge one of the dominant personalities of the present-day Masonic world. He has a wealth of experience which will enable him to guide our affairs wisely and well during his Mastership, and I now ask you to join with me in drinking the toast of his health.

# REVIEWS.

## LONDON TRADESMEN'S CARDS OF THE XVIII. CENTURY. AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN AND USE.

*By Ambrose Heal.*

*London: B. T. Batsford Ltd. 94 High Holborn. 1925.*

[*Price £2 2s.*]

THIS is a charming Volume which will be a delight to the Artist, to the Antiquarian, and above all to the Lover of London. The Author presents us with excellent reproductions (mostly in Collotype) of over one hundred Tradesmen's Cards, and he deals with his subject in Chapters on their Purposes and Interests; their History and Development; Shop Signs and the Tradesmen's Cards; Arms, Effigies and other Emblems; Architecture and Costume; Curiosities in Tradesmen's Cards; and Hogarth Trade Cards; concluding with a description of the Plates, and useful Notes; and the Volume is furnished with an adequate Index.

The Freemason is naturally attracted to the Book because London was the place where, and the Eighteenth Century the time when, our Speculative Craft was organized and developed by means of a central governing body—the Grand Lodge. But the reader who examines the Book for direct Masonic references is doomed to disappointment. We know of many Cards which were definitely issued by Masons and for Masons—some have been reproduced in our *Transactions*—but with one exception, to which I will refer later, these find no place in the Book. It is mentioned on p. 16, and repeated as though for emphasis on p. 82, that "the seven Stars of the Pleiades is a well-known Masonic emblem," but the statement need not concern us, as it is only made in connexion with a house which bore the sign of 'The Seven Stars,' and there is no suggestion that the Tradesman who dwelt there was a Mason.

Yet, although there is so little of direct Masonic interest in the Book, there is very much of indirect interest. Even the Index contains names which are easily recognized, while amongst the Artists and Engravers we may note Pine, Cole, Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Vivares, Hogarth, Larken and Tringham, most of whom were famed far beyond the confines of our Craft.

John Pine, "against Little Britain end of Aldersgate Street," was responsible for the Engraved Lists of Lodges from 1725 to 1741, their Frontispiece having been designed by Sir James Thornhill. Pine also engraved the Frontispiece for the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*. In 1725 he was a Member of the Lodge at the Globe Tavern in Moorgate, and in 1733 he acted as Marshal for the procession at the Festival of Grand Lodge.

Cipriani and Bartolozzi—together and separately—did much Masonic work. The former painted the beautiful jewels still in use in the Lodge of the Nine Muses, of which both were Members, and the latter is well known as the engraver of the picture by Stothard showing the procession in Freemasons' Hall in 1801 of Girls from the Royal Cumberland School. Both their names appear on the Frontispiece of the 1784 *Book of Constitutions*.

Larken can be identified as the Engraver of the Frontispiece and Title-page of the 1764 *Ahiman Rezon*, and of the Title-page of *Multa Paucis* of about the same date. His name appears in this Book on a Card (Plate XXXI.) for John Bristow, Engine Maker (Fire Engines on a new Principle), of Ratcliff Highway.

F. Vivares, of Great Newport Street, published in 1771 the large Engraving of the procession of the Scald Miserable Masons in front of Somerset House.

Benjamin Cole is a puzzle. As the Official Engraver for Grand Lodge he succeeded John Pine, and from "the corner of King's Head Court, Holbourn," he issued the Lists of Lodges from 1745 (and perhaps a little earlier), down to 1767. He also engraved the Frontispiece for the 1756 and 1767 *Book of Constitutions*. His earliest known Masonic work was the engraving of a copy of the Old Charges in 1728, so his labours for the Craft extended over a period of nearly forty years. Now we find him (Plate LIII.) engraving a Card for "Benjamin Cole at the Sun in St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Imports and sells all sorts of Cambricks, Lawn, Macklin & English Lace & Edgin." Did the Engraver also carry on business as a Linen Draper, or were they separate persons? A Benjamin Cole was in 1730 Member of Lodges at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard (now Antiquity No. 2) and at the Queen's Arms, Newgate Street (now Emulation No. 21). This has always been assumed to be the Engraver, but the Linen Draper lived nearer to both houses. Then, too, it may be noted that from 1725 to 1750 Lodges were meeting at the Sun on the South side of St. Paul's. Were there two Suns in St. Paul's Churchyard?

Benjamin Cole was succeeded as Official Engraver to Grand Lodge by William Cole, whose family connexion with Benjamin I have not been able to trace. (See *A.Q.C.* xx., 8). William issued the Engraved Lists from 1766 until they were superseded by the printed Calendars. John Cole, son of William, supplied Engraved forms to Grand Lodge and private Lodges, but I have not found anything actually engraved by him, though two of his personal 'Cards' are reproduced in *A.Q.C.* xx.

Of Hogarth's Masonic career it is not necessary to say much. In 1725 he seems to have been a member of the Lodge at the Hand and Apple Tree in Little Queen Street, and he was Steward for the Festival of Grand Lodge on 30th March, 1734. Many of his well-known Engravings have a distinct Masonic connexion. Unfortunately, his work on Tradesmen's Cards is much obscured by the 'Ireland forgeries,' and the one which would interest us most (Plate VI.) is of uncertain origin. It is a large 'Card' measuring 14¾in. by 8⅛in., and it shows a long low building which is described at foot as "A Perspective View of David Loudon's Bunn House At Chelsey Who Has the Honour to serve the Royal Family. 52 by 21 feet." A print in the Q.C. Collection has in the centre, immediately below the building, "W$^{m}$. Hogarth," and the same on the tiles at the right hand side just above the eaves. But this particular print is on machine-made paper of the nineteenth century, and an earlier impression from the same plate at the British Museum is without Hogarth's name. The Masonic portion of the print is at the top, over the building, where in the centre we have the Royal Arms flanked by two Grenadiers copied from leaden figures which were in the Bun-house Museum of curiosities. Beyond these are representations of the Sun, the Moon, a group of Masonic tools, and the three principal Officers of a Lodge, one of whom rests himself in a reclining posture and holds up a pair of Compasses. It is not known if David Loudon was a Mason, but I am inclined to think that the Masonic portion of the Engraving was added after the rest of the plate had become considerably worn.

It is a pity that there is so much uncertainty about the work of Hogarth. One would have liked to know that he actually engraved the Card

(Plate XXXIV.) for his sisters Mary and Ann, who lived close to Christ's Hospital in Newgate Street, and provided clothing for the Bluecoat Boys there, but the only other Card bearing his name that seems to interest us is that of James Figg, "Master of ye Noble Science of Defence, on ye right hand in Oxford Road near Adam and Eve Court" (p. 67), for he was a Member in 1725 of a Lodge at the Castle Tavern, St. Giles; and on 3rd December, 1731—a day that has proved to be of considerable interest in connexion with the Masonic activities of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Lorraine—Figg gave an exhibition of Swordsmanship before the latter at the French Play House in the Haymarket. (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 326.) Figg's Card has the inscription "Will. Hogarth fecit 1794" (p. 63), but Hogarth died in 1764, and Figg in 1734.

We may attempt to identify some of the Tradesmen whose Cards are mentioned in the Book.

Ward and Chandler, Booksellers, "over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street" are said (p. 40) to have issued a Card, *ca.* 1734. This was the firm of "Brothers Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler, Booksellers, at the Ship without Temple Bar," who in 1738 published the Second Edition of the *Book of Constitutions.* Richard Chandler was a Member of the Lodge at the Sun in Fleet Street, but Ward's name does not appear in the Lists. These enterprising brethren, with branch establishments at York and Scarborough, were amongst the foremost publishers of their day, but it would seem that they allowed their ambition to outrun their prudence. In 1744 Chandler found himself unable to pay his debts, and he committed suicide, while in the following year Ward was declared bankrupt. These facts should be borne in mind when considering the question of the issue in 1746—by another firm—of remainder copies of the second *Book of Constitutions.*

James Bernardeau, "Razor Maker at the Pistol & L. in Russell Court in Drury Lane" (Plate LXXXI.), was probably the brother who was a Member of the Lodge at the Swan in Long Acre in 1730.

Benjamin Clitheroe, of the Lodge at the Three Tuns at Billingsgate in 1730, may have been the Fire Work Maker mentioned on page 47. There was a Benjamin Clitherow in 1725 at the Lodge held at the Griffin in Newgate Street.

A William Deard, who was a Member in 1723, 1725 and 1730, of Lodges at the Devil, Temple Bar, and the Fleece, Fleet Street, was perhaps the William Deards, Goldsmith, at "the Star, end of Pall Mall, near St. James', Haymarket" (p. 49).

William Insley was a "Sedan Chair Maker in Mary le bone Street, St. James's" (Plate LXXXIII.), and in 1730 a William Inesley was a Member of the Lodge at the King's Arms, New Bond Street.

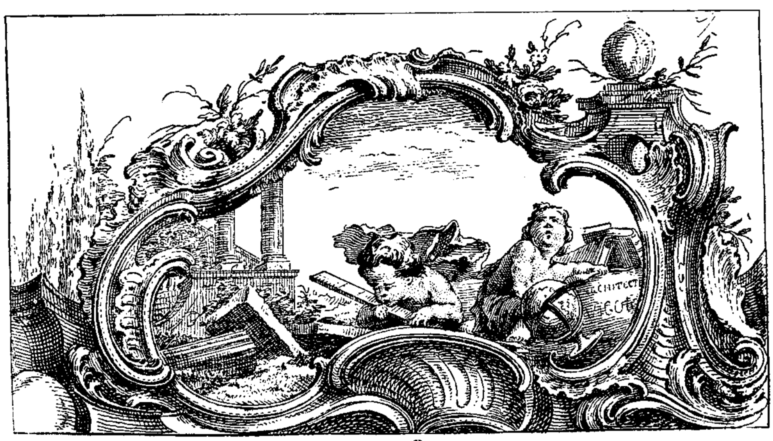
Thomas Paulin, "Mercer, at the Statue of Queen Elizabeth in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden" (p. 19), was a Member in 1730 of the Lodge at the Crown and Sceptres, St. Martin's Lane.

Of the Sandby family referred to on pp. 28, 39, 74, the brothers Thomas (1721-1798) and Paul (1725-1809) seem to call for some notice. Thomas was appointed in 1743 Private Secretary and Draughtsman to the Duke of Cumberland, and in that capacity accompanied him on his campaigns in Flanders and Scotland. In 1746 the Duke appointed him Deputy Ranger of Windsor Great Park, a post which he held until his death. In 1777 he was appointed an "Architect of His Majesty's Works," and in 1780 he is described as holding the office of "Master Carpenter of all His Majesty's works in England." Paul obtained the appointment in 1746 of Draughtsman to the Survey of the Highlands. He resigned in 1751 and joined his brother at Windsor, subsequently settling in London, where, amongst other posts, he held that of Professor of Drawing at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Both the brothers were foundation Members of the Royal Academy of Arts, being

appointed as such by the King in December, 1768. The work of Thomas as an Architect is well known to those who have visited Freemasons' Hall, London, which was built to his designs in 1775. The work of Paul as an Artist may be seen in the Frontispiece of the 1784 *Book of Constitutions*, which shows the Interior of the same Hall. In the drawing he was associated with Cipriani, while the Engraving was in the hands of Bartolozzi and Fitler. Thomas Sandby, Junior, was Thomas Paul Sandby, the son of Paul and the son-in-law of Thomas. His Card (Plate XXVII.) was designed and engraved by his father's friends, Sir Benjamin West and Bartolozzi.

Here I must leave this fascinating Book, with the hope that the Author will consider the idea of preparing a supplementary Volume, in the same most excellent manner, dealing with the many Cards which would be of particular interest to Freemasons.

July, 1925. W. J. SONGHURST.



# NOTES AND QUERIES.

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**THE OLD CHARGES AND THE CHIEF MASTER MASON.**—I am grateful for the opportunity of perusing Bro. Tuckett's paper, and am so impressed by the area of research which it covers that I hesitate to dissent from so ripe a scholar. But I am dubious whether the expression "Kyngis sone of Tyry" in the *Cooke MS.*, or the corresponding words "A soonne" in the *Gd. Lodge MS. 1*, can fairly be debilitated to mean no more than a *subject* of the King of Tyre. Nor can the Biblical phrase which he quotes, viz., "sons of Belial," be regarded as a fair comparison with it; for the latter is an instance of a Hebrew idiom, whereas the other expressions are English. Moreover, Belial was not the name of a king, and consequently his (or its) "sons" never mean his (or its) *subjects*.

I fully agree with Bro. Tuckett that Gould's hypothesis—that *Hyman* (or *Aymon*) is a copyist's blunder—seems incredible, and that Speth's suggestion—that "Aynon=anonymous"—is equally unsatisfactory. What is at all events a possibility—and one which has been overlooked by Bro. Tuckett and other students—is that in Biblical times there may have been a famous artificer named Amon. The expression used in Cant. vii., 1 [ ידיאמן ] is literally, "hands of Aman." But, apparently because the Sept. translator knew nothing of that individual, he abbreviated the phrase to the mere term τεχνίτης, which in the English versions became expanded to "a connynge workmaster" or else "a cunning workman." The Hebrew word *aman*, however, never bears such a meaning elsewhere in the Old Testament; and the simile intended in the verse (Cant. vii., 1), although scarcely complimentary to a lady nowadays, would to an Oriental mind have been quite decorous. Literally it is "in contour thy *nates* are perfectly matched, as globular gems (*i.e.*, of a necklace) fashioned by the hands of Amon." The words thus imply that Amon was a very famous lapidary. But the Vulgate translation *manu artificis* is obviously bald, since in what other manner could gems be shaped and polished? With all that Bro. Tuckett has said about the modern Jewish word *uman* (or *umman*) signifying a reliable superintendent of the work (or more familiarly speaking "a boss") I agree. But has that signification been derived from the Heb. verb אמן "to be firm" (as has been the case with our English word *Amen*), or did it originate in the proper *name* of a famous craftsman who lived centuries ago? That is the crux! *Amon*, as an Israelitish name does occur in I. Kings xxii., 26; II. Kgs. xxi., 19; Neh. vii., 59 (and possibly also Prov. viii., 30[1]), and *Heman* in I. Kgs., iv., 31, and I. Chron. vi., 33, is but another form of it. In any case there remains the possibility of a mediæval tradition that some famous Masonic artificer was so named; more especially as we know there was a Romance story about Aymon of Dordogne—one of whose sons was said to have worked as a mason at the building of Cologne Cathedral, where he was treacherously slain by some of his fellow-craftsmen. Similar vagaries in traditions are familiar to us all.

Bro. Tuckett's suggested Hebrew etymology for the variant "Apleo," occurring in the *Stanley* and *Carson* MSS., is very ingenious, but seems too

[1] The English versions have seriously varied as to the rendering of this verse: Coverdale's (1535) had "ordringe all thinges" (*Cf.* Vulg. *cuncta componens*); the Genevan (1560) "as a nourisher"; the Authorized (1611) has "*as* one brought up *with him*"; and the Revised (1885) "*as* a master workman." But if *Amon* be regarded as a proper name the difficulty vanishes.

strained to be convincing. That in one solitary instance (Judg. xiii., 18) the Hebrew word *Pelai* [פלאי] has been rendered "secret" in the Auth. Version is perfectly true. Nevertheless, the world *pelai* does not mean "concealed": it means "marvellous," or "wonderful," and has been so rendered in every other instance in the Old Test. I have not examined whether, either in Judg. xiij., 18, or elsewhere, the Biblical *pelai* was translated "secret" prior to 1611; but I feel sure that if a sixteenth century Freemason had wanted to introduce into a Charge a Hebrew word signifying "a name to be concealed" he would have been very unlikely to select *Apleo*, when there were other words far more frequent and appropriate for his purpose.

Further on in his paper Bro. Tuckett discusses the possibility of *ab.* [אב], *i.e.*, "father," being used in the sense of an "advisory chief" to a superintendent architect. But here again such a use would be exceptional. I cannot recall any parallel instance. Also his contention that in II. Chron. iv., 16, the word *Abiv* can be taken as meaning "his (*i.e.*, Solomon's) Master (Mason)" is a fair argument. But what about the translation of לחורם אבי? in II. Chron. ii., 13? There the word *Abi* cannot possibly mean *Solomon's* "father" (let "father" signify whatever it may), and the other word must mean "*to* Huram" or "*for* Huram." The ordinarily accepted rendering "of Huram my father's" (query—*my father's* what?), which gives a genitival sense to the prepositional prefix, is grammatically indefensible.

Bro. Tuckett may fairly retort—Can you substantiate a better alternative explanation? At present I cannot. Some day perhaps a confirmation of Bro. Rosenbaum's hypothesis of *two artificers* may be forthcoming, upon which can then be built a corollary that the "son" who completed Hiram's work was really named Amon. This, however, is merely a pious hope. Meanwhile, our esteemed Bro. Tuckett's view—much as I would like to accept it—seems beset with so many difficulties that I incline to leave the ambiguity *in statu quo ante*, though I heartily congratulate him upon his splendid piece of constructive research.

One little slip occurs (on p. 191) where he makes Josephus say that one of the pillars "survived in Syria." Josephus said Σεριάδ, not Συρία, Probably the *Harleian MS.* may be responsible for this error. "Seriad" seems to have been the ancient Babylonian place, otherwise called Sippara, which in II. Kgs. xvij., 24, is spoken of as Sepharvaim.

W. W. Covey-Crump.

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**The Old Charges and the Chief Master Mason.**—I have read Bro. Tuckett's paper with great care; and, though I do not agree with him on all the points raised, I have been very much interested in all that he says, particularly the latter part of the paper. Perhaps I may be allowed to offer a few comments on that part which deals with certain readings in the Old Charges.

The distinction between the M- and N-forms is, I take it, not intended to be in itself of significance. If we examine the distribution by 'Branches' and not by individual MSS., it at once becomes clear that the M and N are almost interchangeable; while the superior antiquity of the M-form perhaps becomes more apparent.

Thus:—D (c)—York Br. has AMON (3), AYNON
E (a)—Thorp Br. has AYNON, AJUON, AMON
E (c)—Hope Br. has AMON (2), AAMON, AINON
E (d)—Embleton Br. has AYMON, AYNON, DYNON
F —Roberts Fam. has AMON, AMNON, ANON, ANNON (2);

and we may classify the whole:—

M—T; D. (c), (d), (i); D. 6, 23; E (c); F.
N—D. (a), (b), (h); E. (a), (b), (d); H. 7.

Of these, the most significant, from the point of view of antiquity (arranged in order so far as we are able with the copies available) are:—

T (on critical grounds)
*D* (*a*) (G.L. 1, 1583)
D. 6 (Wood MS., 1610)
D. (c), (d); *E.* (*a*), (*b*) (all represented by early 17th cent. forms);

in which I have italicized the N-forms.

This arrangement shows probably clearer than Bro. Tuckett's method the relative antiquity of the two types; and he is probably correct in his conclusion that the M-form is the genuine.

His interpretation of the word seems to me admirable. I agree fully with him that AYMON is *not*, though it certainly *might be*, a corruption of Hiram (in any form). If that name had appeared in B and C, then the matter would wear an entirely different aspect. But we find that these early forms—and here, I think, perhaps Bro. Tuckett may have missed a strong point—*perhaps deliberately* refrain from naming the 'King's son of Tyre'; and it seems to me that a similar reticence may be indicated (as he implies) by the use of the 'designation' AYMON in place of a name.

The difficulty, to my mind, lies in the question as to how this Hebrew word got into the text; and I must confess that I do not find Bro. Tuckett's answer entirely convincing. This does not, however, affect my decided inclination to accept his explanation of the word.

In dealing with the curious variant APLEO, Bro. Tuckett has again, I think, missed a point by dealing with the MSS. individually instead of by 'Branches.' The Stanley Branch is so closely related to the Colne Branch that in dealing with one the critic is compelled to place the corresponding passages of the other alongside. And in the Colne Branch we find, plain and undisguised, the very word which had been so carefully suppressed for generations. Now, neither of these Branches is derived from the other, as can easily be seen by a careful examination of the texts; and the original of the Colne Branch seems actually to have admitted variations from a text of the Sloane Family—probably Embleton type. Further, the close agreement of its three versions on HIRAM of TICKUS seems to show that that phrase was in the Colne Original; and this form is clearly a corruption of HIRAM OF TYRUS (in some form). Thus, at the closest, the Stanley Branch can only have descended from the 'grandfather' of the Colne Branch; and a probable genealogy would be somewhat as follows:—

A MS. containing HIRAM of TYRUS

| | |
|---|---|
| Colne Original, with HIRAM of TICKUS (adulterated from Sloane Fam.) | Stanley Original, with APLEO |
| Colne Branch | Stanley Branch |

This fairly plausible arrangement would suit Bro. Tuckett's argument very well; and, moreover, it supplies a motive for the alteration.

I cannot, however, agree with him on the early date (c. 1520) which he assigns to the 'original Stanley text,' *i.e.*, the first text which introduced APLEO. Bearing in mind the close agreements in the Grand Lodge Family,

and the inter-relations which critical examination reveals, I cannot place it much earlier than the first half of the seventeenth century., *i.e.*, about 100 years later than he does.

But again the difficulty arises, How did the word APLEO get in? We have here no more or less 'official' recasting. The locality is fairly well defined; for the whole history of the Colne and Stanley Branches seems to have been worked out on the Lancs.-Yorks. borderland. Is it possible that Warrington, with Ashmole and its circle of 'speculative' Masons, is the clue to the presence of this Hebrew word?

One more point on this subject. Though I think it is probable that the word APLEO did *not* replace AYMON, I ought to add that I do not agree with Bro. Tuckett that it could not have been evolved out of it by a copyist. I have experimented with the word AYMŌ in the handwriting of about 1600, and I consider that it is distinctly possible; and I think that if he will refer to the name AYNONE in the Grand Lodge 1 MS. he may be led to agree with me.

I refrain from commenting on the remainder of the paper, save to say that Bro. Tuckett has put forward some most interesting material, and a very attractive theory of early Masonry; and I await with great interest the views of Brethren more expert than I am at estimating their value.

H. Poole.

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**The Nomenclature of Lodges.**—Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, in commenting on Bro. W. J. Williams's paper on the Nomenclature of Lodges, says, under Heroes, "Janus No. 4456 (singularly inappropriate, founded 1922)." I know nothing about this Lodge, nor why they chose that title; but would ask why the name is inappropriate? I consider otherwise, and very much so.

Janus was a worker in bronze, like T.C.; he founded a forge and settlement on the ridge named from him The Janiculum; he was evidently an Etruscan, the locality was triangular in form, the apex pointing west. He died, was deified, and is represented on the early money with two heads, not a face at the back of the head, double faced, but two distinct busts, signifying vigilance. As they put locks, bars and bolts on both sides of a door, so he faced both ways in watchfulness, the type of our Janitors-Tylers. He was both practical and speculative, distinguishing himself by his work in this life, then reaping his reward.

Numa founded his shrine, a double cube, rectangular, in bronze in the Forum, just big enough to contain the statue of the deity who looked to the east and to the west; he was *Patuleius* the opener, and *Clusius* the closer; so faced the rising and setting sun, the warden of light. This is very suggestive and an object lesson in vigilance, so the doors were kept open in time of war, when watchfulness was necessary; and kept closed in time of peace, when tranquillity was enjoyed. A coin of Nero depicts the shrine with the doors closed A.D. 63.

The north side of the Forum was called from him *Ad Janum*. It was the Exchange of Rome, a very appropriate title, because they had to look both ways, at the profit and at the loss. He was the god of commencings, so the first month, the opening of the year, is called January from him, and his wife's name was Jane.

Rome, October, 1925. S. Russell Forbes.

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**Masonic Blue.**—Various suggestions have been broached as to how the idea of our Masonic Blue originated, *vide A.Q.C.* xvii., 3; xxiii., 309; and *Transactions*, Lodge of Research, Leicester, 1909-10, page 109. But the con-

and we may classify the whole:—

M—T; D. (c), (d), (i); D. 6, 23; E (c); F.
N—D. (a), (b), (h); E. (a), (b), (d); H. 7.

Of these, the most significant, from the point of view of antiquity (arranged in order so far as we are able with the copies available) are:—

T (on critical grounds)
*D* (*a*) (G.L. 1, 1583)
D. 6 (Wood MS., 1610)
D. (c), (d); *E.* (*a*), (*b*) (all represented by early 17th cent. forms);

in which I have italicized the N-forms.

This arrangement shows probably clearer than Bro. Tuckett's method the relative antiquity of the two types; and he is probably correct in his conclusion that the M-form is the genuine.

His interpretation of the word seems to me admirable. I agree fully with him that AYMON is *not*, though it certainly *might be*, a corruption of Hiram (in any form). If that name had appeared in B and C, then the matter would wear an entirely different aspect. But we find that these early forms—and here, I think, perhaps Bro. Tuckett may have missed a strong point—*perhaps deliberately* refrain from naming the 'King's son of Tyre'; and it seems to me that a similar reticence may be indicated (as he implies) by the use of the 'designation' AYMON in place of a name.

The difficulty, to my mind, lies in the question as to how this Hebrew word got into the text; and I must confess that I do not find Bro. Tuckett's answer entirely convincing. This does not, however, affect my decided inclination to accept his explanation of the word.

In dealing with the curious variant APLEO, Bro. Tuckett has again, I think, missed a point by dealing with the MSS. individually instead of by 'Branches.' The Stanley Branch is so closely related to the Colne Branch that in dealing with one the critic is compelled to place the corresponding passages of the other alongside. And in the Colne Branch we find, plain and undisguised, the very word which had been so carefully suppressed for generations. Now, neither of these Branches is derived from the other, as can easily be seen by a careful examination of the texts; and the original of the Colne Branch seems actually to have admitted variations from a text of the Sloane Family—probably Embleton type. Further, the close agreement of its three versions on HIRAM of TICKUS seems to show that that phrase was in the Colne Original; and this form is clearly a corruption of HIRAM OF TYRUS (in some form). Thus, at the closest, the Stanley Branch can only have descended from the 'grandfather' of the Colne Branch; and a probable genealogy would be somewhat as follows:—

A MS. containing HIRAM of TYRUS

| Colne Original, with HIRAM of TICKUS (adulterated from Sloane Fam.) | Stanley Original, with APLEO |
|---|---|
| Colne Branch | Stanley Branch |

This fairly plausible arrangement would suit Bro. Tuckett's argument very well; and, moreover, it supplies a motive for the alteration.

I cannot, however, agree with him on the early date (c. 1520) which he assigns to the 'original Stanley text,' *i.e.*, the first text which introduced APLEO. Bearing in mind the close agreements in the Grand Lodge Family,

and the inter-relations which critical examination reveals, I cannot place it much earlier than the first half of the seventeenth century., *i.e.*, about 100 years later than he does.

But again the difficulty arises, How did the word APLEO get in? We have here no more or less 'official' recasting. The locality is fairly well defined; for the whole history of the Colne and Stanley Branches seems to have been worked out on the Lancs.-Yorks. borderland. Is it possible that Warrington, with Ashmole and its circle of 'speculative' Masons, is the clue to the presence of this Hebrew word?

One more point on this subject. Though I think it is probable that the word APLEO did *not* replace AYMON, I ought to add that I do not agree with Bro. Tuckett that it could not have been evolved out of it by a copyist. I have experimented with the word AYMŌ in the handwriting of about 1600, and I consider that it is distinctly possible; and I think that if he will refer to the name AYNONE in the Grand Lodge 1 MS. he may be led to agree with me.

I refrain from commenting on the remainder of the paper, save to say that Bro. Tuckett has put forward some most interesting material, and a very attractive theory of early Masonry; and I await with great interest the views of Brethren more expert than I am at estimating their value.

H. Poole.

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**The Nomenclature of Lodges.**—Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, in commenting on Bro. W. J. Williams's paper on the Nomenclature of Lodges, says, under Heroes, "Janus No. 4456 (singularly inappropriate, founded 1922)." I know nothing about this Lodge, nor why they chose that title; but would ask why the name is inappropriate? I consider otherwise, and very much so.

Janus was a worker in bronze, like T.C.; he founded a forge and settlement on the ridge named from him The Janiculum; he was evidently an Etruscan, the locality was triangular in form, the apex pointing west. He died, was deified, and is represented on the early money with two heads, not a face at the back of the head, double faced, but two distinct busts, signifying vigilance. As they put locks, bars and bolts on both sides of a door, so he faced both ways in watchfulness, the type of our Janitors-Tylers. He was both practical and speculative, distinguishing himself by his work in this life, then reaping his reward.

Numa founded his shrine, a double cube, rectangular, in bronze in the Forum, just big enough to contain the statue of the deity who looked to the east and to the west; he was *Patuleius* the opener, and *Clusius* the closer; so faced the rising and setting sun, the warden of light. This is very suggestive and an object lesson in vigilance, so the doors were kept open in time of war, when watchfulness was necessary; and kept closed in time of peace, when tranquillity was enjoyed. A coin of Nero depicts the shrine with the doors closed A.D. 63.

The north side of the Forum was called from him *Ad Janum*. It was the Exchange of Rome, a very appropriate title, because they had to look both ways, at the profit and at the loss. He was the god of commencings, so the first month, the opening of the year, is called January from him, and his wife's name was Jane.

Rome, October, 1925. S. Russell Forbes.

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**Masonic Blue.**—Various suggestions have been broached as to how the idea of our Masonic Blue originated, *vide A.Q.C.* xvii., 3; xxiii., 309; and *Transactions*, Lodge of Research, Leicester, 1909-10, page 109. But the con-

jectures of the Authors of those papers, Bros. Fred J. W. Crowe and Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, are neither conclusive nor convincing, and still leave the question an open one.

The present enquirers believe that the Gold and Blue as now worn by the Officers of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and by the Members of the Grand Master's Lodge, Dublin, can be very simply accounted for, being symbolical of the Compasses from the very inception of a Grand Lodge in Ireland, now approaching 200 years in age, the symbolism having been introduced into this country from the Mother of Grand Lodges in or before the year 1725. Of the similarity of the rites there can be no question. For, in the words of the greatest Irish Masonic authority:

> "All the evidence we have goes to show that the Laws, Customs, and Practices of the Grand Lodge of Ireland were identical with those of the Grand Lodge of England during the first dozen years or so of its existence as a Grand Lodge. This identity of work lasted until 'some variations were made in the established forms.'" (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., 315.)

To Masonic Students further comment is not necessary when we hazard the opinion that one of the 'variations' was the change (*circa* 1734, Rawlinson MS.) of 'sky-blue' to the dark Garter Blue for the ribbons and lining of the aprons as then worn by the Officers of the Grand Lodge of England, afterwards known as the 'Moderns.'

On St. John's Day in June, 1725, when the Earl of Rosse was installed Grand Master of Ireland, he was escorted on his way to the King's Inns by "Six Lodges of Gentlemen Freemasons," the Brothers of one of which "wore fine Badges full of Crosses and Squares, with this Motto, *Spes mea in Deo est.* Which was no doubt very significant, for the Master of it wore a Yallow Jacket, and Blue Britches." We suggest that this very Lodge whose Master "wore a Yallow Jacket and Blue Britches," might be looked upon as the prototype of our present Grand Master's Lodge, Dublin (founded January, 1749-50), wherein at the present day the Brethren wear working aprons with a yellow braid and yellow fringe and sky-blue border on a plain white ground, and no other ornament whatever. These are the original colours of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and are probably symbolical of the Compasses, as shown by the following quotation from a spurious ritual published in the *Dublin Intelligence* for 29th August, 1730:—

> . . . After which I was cloathed.
>
> N.B. The cloathing is putting on the Apron and Gloves.
>
> Q. How was the Master cloathed?
> A. In a Yellow Jacket and Blue Pair of Breeches.
>
> N.B. The Master is not otherwise Cloathed than Common; the Question and Answer are only emblematical, the Yellow Jacket, the Compass, and the Blue Breeches, the Steel Points.

At a Masonic Fête held in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, on 6th December, 1731, the Brethren were accompanied by "The Ladies [who] all wore Yellow and Blue Ribbons on their Breasts, being the proper Colours of that Ancient and Right Worshipful Society."

From the time the Grand Lodge of Ireland first issued Warrants to constitute regular Masonic Lodges, these documents bore small pieces of Yellow and Blue ribbons, over which was placed the Grand Lodge Seal depicting a hand couped at the wrist and holding a trowel, and this custom prevailed until about the year 1775.

In the archives of the Grand Lodge of Ireland is preserved a cancelled warrant, issued on 6th June, 1750, to erect a Lodge in the City of Dublin (No. 209), on the margin of which is a small coloured drawing of the Master seated on his throne. One can distinctly see that the Master wears a yellow jacket and blue breeches—together with a red cloak and cocked hat—all of the Georgian period.

In the Library of the Grand Lodge of England, visitors can view an old picture—said to be after Hogarth—of a Freemason garbed in a yellow waistcoat. Bro. Wonnacott, the Librarian of Grand Lodge, will tell you he thinks the colour of this garment was no accident, and is symbolical of the brass body of the compasses.

Up to recent years the Members of Nelson Lodge, No. XVIII., Newry, Co. Down, wore a Blue coat and Yellow waistcoat, both having brass buttons with the Lodge number thereon. The colour of the breeches has not been preserved, but no doubt it was intended to have been the same as the coat. Union Lodge, No. 23, in the same town, must have worn the same uniform, for there is still preserved a complete set of brass buttons for such a costume. These two Lodges, XVIII. and 23, were formed in 1809 from an older Lodge, No. 933, Newry, warranted in 1803. But from the fact that in the town of Newry there still works the oldest Masonic Lodge in Ulster, warranted in 1737, and also from the fact that Warrant No. 16, originally granted in 1732 or 1733, was moved to and revived in Newry in 1766, there can be no question but that Masonic traditions had a very strong foothold in the town. That this costume was an old custom in Newry is also shown by the coat and vest which the late Bro. Dr. F. C. Crosslé had made for himself, he being intensely interested in Masonic lore and having learnt from the lips of many Masonic veterans in Newry that this was the old and correct Masonic dress for festival occasions.

It is true we cannot assume a general practice from a particular custom, as in the case of the Newry usage, nevertheless, the latter is another link in the chain.

Can any Brother offer a more simple explanation for the origin of the colour "Masonic Blue"?

J. Heiron Lepper.
Philip Crosslé.

# OBITUARY.

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IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Dr. **W. Walton Claridge,** of Norwich, on 20th July, 1923. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in 1913.

**C. L. M. Eales,** I.C.S., of Tiverton, on 5th August, 1923. He was Past Master of Light in Adjoodhia Lodge No. 836, and had held office as District Grand Warden, Bengal. In October, 1900, he was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle of which he was a Life Member.

**Thomas Footer,** Cumberland, Md., U.S.A., on 21st August, 1923, at the age of seventy-seven years. Bro. Footer held the rank of Past Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and was the Representative thereat of the Grand Lodge of England. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in October, 1895.

**George West Fortescue,** of London, in August, 1923. Our Brother was Past Master of Downshire Lodge No. 2437 and a member of Strawberry Hill Chapter No. 946. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in November, 1898.

**James Henry Healey,** of Southport, on 7th November, 1923. Bro. Healey had held the office of Pr.A.G.D.C., E.Lancs., and was P.Z. of Hope Chapter No. 54. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

**Sidney Frank Herbage,** of London, E.C., on 13th November, 1923. He was a P.M. of Brooke Lodge No. 2005, and had been appointed Pr.G.D. for Essex. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1921.

**Andrew Hope,** of Exeter, on 5th October, 1923, at the age of seventy-five years. Bro. Hope had held the offices of Pr.G.D. in the Craft and Pr.A.G.Soj. in the Royal Arch in Devonshire. He was an early member of our Correspondence Circle to which he was admitted in November, 1889.

**Arthur Orford Kay,** of Rochdale, on 29th August, 1923. Our Brother was Junior Warden of St. Martin's Lodge No. 2320, and he had been elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1923.

**Herman Philip Kottmann,** of Dutch East Indies, in 1923. He was a member of Fraternitas Lodge, and joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.

**James Richard Donald Mackenzie,** of Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A., in 1923. He was a member of Lodge No. 401 (California), and joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1918.

Major **Ainsley Megraw,** of Vernon, B.C., in 1923. Bro. Megraw had held the office of Dis.Dep.G.M., and had been attached to our Correspondence Circle since May, 1913.

**Charles Ratcliffe,** of Ormskirk, Lancs., in 1923. Our Brother held the office of Pr.G.D. in the Craft and Pr.G.Sc.N. in the Royal Arch. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1892.

**John Robertson Reep,** of London, W., on 27th November, 1923. Bro. Reep held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer in the Craft and Royal Arch. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1890.

**James Alfred Spiers Scott,** of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 24th August, 1923. Our Brother had held the offices of Pr.G.R. in the Craft and Pr.G.So. in the Royal Arch. He was an early member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in November, 1889.

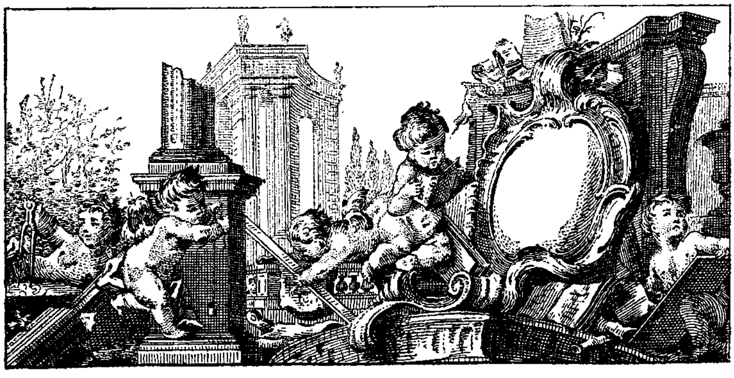
**Isaac Mann Shields,** of London, on 31st July, 1923. Bro. Shields was Past Grand Deacon, and Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer in the Royal Arch. He had also held office as Dep.Dis.G.M. in Bombay. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1900.

**Israel Solomons,** of London, on 11th July, 1923. He was a member of Friars Lodge No. 1349. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1907.

**Reginald Philip Sumner,** of Gloucester, on 12th July, 1923. Bro. Sumner was Past Grand Deacon in the Craft and Past Grand Standard Bearer in the Royal Arch. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1895.

**Israel Alexander Symmons,** J.P., of London, N.W., on 31st July, 1923. He was Past Master of Emulation Lodge No. 21, and P.G.Steward. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1918.

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# ST. JOHN'S CARD.

It has been decided by the Lodge Committee to suspend for the present the annual St. John's Card, which, down to the year 1918, contained—amongst other matter—a full list of the members of both Circles of the Lodge. It is hoped that it will be possible to resume the publication within the next two or three years, but it must be understood that this cannot be done until we have a much greater membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1923:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*:—Mercia Lodge No. 3995, Walsall; St. John's Lodge of Instruction (No. 80), Sunderland; Windsor Lodge of Instruction (No. 1754) Reading Circle, Cardiff; Waikaremoana Lodge No. 158 (N.Z.C.), Hawkes Bay, New Zealand; Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.; Euclid Lodge No. 394 (La.C.), New Orleans, La. U.S.A.; Carmel Lodge of Perfection No. 1 St. Paul, Minn., U.S.A.; Masonic News, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.; Lodge De Geldersche Broederschap, Arnhem, Holland; Lodge L'Union Provenciale, Gronnigen, Holland; Lodge Moed-Kracht-Volharding, Winschoten, Holland; Central Board of Amsterdam Lodges, Amsterdam, Holland; Lodge Regulus, Aalesund, Norway.

*BRETHREN*:— George William Strachan Anderson, of East Malvern, Victoria. 240; George Andrews, of Bloemfontein. Dep.Pr.G.Treas.; T. Archey, of Christchurch, New Zealand. 236; David Ashworth, of Castleton, Lancs. P.M. 2320; Ernest Aves, of Ilford. 3524, *3524*; Sir Alfred William Francis Bagge, Bart., of Norwich. P.M. 52, *P.So. 32*; Charles Henry Barber, of Strawberry Hill, Middlesex. Sec. 4077, *946*; Thomas Barclay, of Jarrow-on-Tyne. P.M. 3242, *1119*; Frederick Thomas Bare, of London, E. 2944; George William Bartle, of London. L.R., *P.Z. 1056*; Francis Joseph Beale, of Canterbury, Victoria. 159; Charles Menten Benjamin, of London. 1293, *1293*; Carlos F. Betancourt, D.C.L., of Cardenas, Cuba. P.M. 13; George Airth Black, of Woodford Green, Essex. 3903; Hal Vivian Bolam, of Yakima, Wash., U.S.A. 227; Charles O. Boyer, of Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A. 956, *302*; Capt. Ernest Livett Brash, M.B.E., of Baghdad. P.M. 4022; Reidar Brekke, of Trondhjem, Norway. Lodge Nordlyset; John Bridge, of Middleton, Lancs. P.M. 3989, *P.So. 298*; Hubert Carpenter Bristowe, M.D., of Wrington, Somerset. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.R.*; James Patrick Brown, of Aliwal North, S. Africa. 711; Richard De Mille Brown, of New York City. P.Dis.Dep.G.M., *298*; Cyril Lucius Tabuteau Buchanan, of Melbourne, Victoria. 300; Charles William Butler, of North Shields. P.M. 3460; *H. 431*; Walter Wolf Caffyn, of St. Petersburg, Fla., U.S.A. 79 (Ind.C.), *90* (Ind.C.); Henry James Rees Carty, of London. P.M. 4305, *2030*; Frank Walton Chandler, of Everett, Wash., U.S.A. 137; Louis Max Chenik, of Johannesburg, S. Africa. P.M. 3203; Ernest James Church, of Croydon. 3938; Arthur Edwin Spencer Clark, of Deccan, India. 2377, *2377*; Cyril Edgar Coggan, of Woking, Surrey. P.M. 3233, *255*; Frederick Henry Colechin, of West Richmond, Victoria. P.M. 135, *6*; Arthur Collins, of Kendal. 129; Charles A. Cooper, of Mosman, N.S.W. 752 (E.C.).; Commdr. Frank James Couldrey, R.N., D.S.O., of Njoro, Kenya. S.W. 3559; Major Clement Whitlock Cowell, of Jerusalem. P.M. 2905, *1083*; William Thomas Coxhill, of Oxford. 340, *340*; Ernest Brooke Cozens-Brooke, of London, 357, *231*; Douglas Crooke, C.E., of Springfield, Mass., U.S.A. P.M. Lodge Samuel Osgood. *Morning Star*; Philip Crosslé, of Dublin. 200; John Edward Danes, of Hawthorn, Victoria. 300, *9*; Capt. John Francis Regis Darbyshire,

of Nowshera, India. J.W. 1960, *Sc.E. 1960*; Charles Henry Darlison, of Coventry. 725; Louwrens Jacobus de Wet, of Zastron, South Africa. 4396; Robert A. Dickson, of London. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Pr.G.So.*, Essex; James Meeres Drabble, of Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. P.M. 3; Gerrit Dwars, of Amsterdam, Holland. W.M. Lodge Nos Vinxit Libertas; Thomas Cyril Eckenstein, of London. P.M. 255, *P.So. 255*; Lewis Edwards, of London, P.M. 1503, *Sc.N. 865*; Harold Oswald Ellis, of London. P.M. 162, *J. 162*; Robert Emberson, of Croydon. P.M. 2622, *P.So. 2622*; John Whitman Emery, of Bridgton, Maine, U.S.A. P.M. 13, *P.H.P. 30*; Christopher Finlayson, of Malvern, Victoria. 57, *2*; Woodfield Fitz-Henry, of Myrtle, Manitoba. S.W. 135; G. D. A. Fletcher, of Penang. 3830; Lewis Fletcher, of Castleton, Lancs. 2320; Arthur Livesey Forrester, of Malmesbury, Wilts. P.M. 2888, *P.Z. 2888*; George Leonard William Franks, of London. 834; Finlay Fraser, of Hedley, B.C. P.Dis.Dep.G.M.; Harry David Friedlander, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. 956, *240*; Jacob Friedman, of Zastron, O.F.S., S. Africa. 4396; Thomas Froude, of London. S.W. 1910, *1076*; Fred Garner, of Stockport. P.Pr.G.D., East Lancs. *Z. 323*; George Henry Garnett, of Prospect, S. Australia. 66, *43*; Capt. Alexander Gault-Macgowan, of Cheshire. S.W. 1960, *P.So. 1960*; William Albert Gayner, of Bath. P.Pr.G.Sup.W., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; Dr. Walter Henry Andrew Geering, of Pincher Creek, Alberta. P.M. 6; William Gibson, of Carlisle. 62 (S.C.); Isaac Goldstein, of London. 2265; John Graham, of Chichester. 4469; Herbert William Graves-Morris, of Luton. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Z. 1470*; Arthur Leslie Bagot Gray, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 3; Leonard Warwick Greenwood, of Worcester. 357; Arthur Robert Gridley, of Chichester. 4469; Ernest Francis Griffiths, of Weston-super-Mare. 1755, *1755*; William Tounsend Jackson Gun, of London. P.M. 2895; Sam Haigh, of Huddersfield. P.Pr.Dep.G.D.C., *P.Pr.G.Sc.E.*; John Albert Deakin Hale, of London. 3398; George Hamilton, of Chichester. 4469; Henry Walter Hanson, of Hampton, Victoria. 752; Alfred Algernon Harris, of London. P.M. 2957; William Harvey, J.P., of Dundee. P.M. 967, *P.Z. 421*; James Hastie, of Bristol. 199, *199*; Robert Reason Hayne, of London. L.R., *P.Z. 1305*; Wallace Evans Heaton, of London. P.M. 4092, *2956*; William Robert Newson Heseltine, of Wednesbury. 2724; Francis Eugene Hess, of Bedford, Iowa, U.S.A. 156, *68*; Alexander G. Heughan, of Ottawa. 560; Albert Fergus Stanley Hickey, of Camberwell, Victoria. *2*; Norman Broadwell Hickox, of Evanston, Ill., U.S.A. P.M. 524; Walter Austen Higgs, of Zastron, O.F.S., S. Africa, 4396; Alfred Hildesley, of London. L.R.; Charles Henry Miles Hiscock, of Bridlington. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.A.G.D.C.*; Charles M. Horn, of Forestville, N.Y., U.S.A. 152; Francis Ambrose Walsham How, of Droitwich. P.M. 3638, *Sc.E. 280*; Capt. Adderley Fitzalan Bernard Howard, M.C., of Nigeria. 3881, *3434*; William Hill Howe, M.P.S., of Wellington, New Zealand. P.M. 346 (I.C.), *P.Pr.G.Ins.*, Antrim; Edmund John Hughes, of Aberdare. P.M. 679; Thomas Humphreys, of London. P.Pr.G.W., Essex; James Douglas Hunter, of London. P.M. 1965; Frank Lewis Hustler, of Batley, Yorkshire. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Z. 1214*; Frank Hutchinson, of Scarborough. P.Pr.G.S.B., *P.Pr.G.Treas.*; Gerald Ingersoll, of Fayal. 355 (S.C.); Walter Culpepper Stanser Ingles, of Alverstoke, Hants. P.Dis.G.W., Ceylon, *P.Z. 2170*; Thomas Harold Irwin, of Caulfield, Melbourne. 279; Henry Biddulph Jackson, of Coventry. 3659, *3659*; Percy Edwin James, of Ashton-on-Mersey. S.W. 4365, *935*; C. E. Jenkins, of Kulim. P.Dis.G.Swd.B.; Gilbert Yorke Johnson, of York. P.Pr.G.W., *236*; Revd. John Frederick Johnson, M.A., of Bickley, Kent. P.Pr.G.Ch., *1314*; Richard Francis Johnson, of London. P.M. 3938, *P.So. 3938*; Walter Johnson, of Swindon. P.M. 355; Frederick Johnstone, of Tiverton. P.M. 1125, *1125*; Samuel Joseph, of London. 2265; James Henry Rowles Kain, of Doncaster. 1011, *242*; Arthur Orford Kay, of Rochdale. J.W. 2320; George Cameron Kingscott, of Melbourne. P.M. 243, *J. 26*; Douglas Knoop, of Sheffield. 3911; Roland Ernest Knowles, of Windermere. 2217; William Buddee Kopfer, of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. 574, *209*; William Joseph L'Amie, of Bridgwater. 135; Alexander Buchanan Lamont, M.A., B.Sc., of Kimberley, S. Africa. S.D.

591 (S.C.); Frederick William Laughton, of York. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Allen Trevett Leete, of Ouyen, Victoria. 249; George J. Leicht, of Wausau, Wis., U.S.A. 130; George Easdon Leslie, of Buenos Aires. P.Dis.G.W., *P.Dis.A.G.D.C.*; Arthur Llewellyn Lloyd, of Bristol. 1755, *1755*; Sidney Clifford Lockwood, of Beeston, Leeds. S.W. 3197, *380*; Frederick Lofting, of London. 1489; James Longworth, of Middleton, Lancs. P.M. 3989; Wilfrid Looker, of Rochdale. P.M. 2320; Nicolas John Luke, of Bloemfontein. Dep.Pr.G.St.B. (D.C.); Major Edward Lyall, D.S.O., of Darlington. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.So.*; William Campbell Lyons, M.B., of South Shields. 4345; Alexander Livingstone McCombe, of London. 1241 (S.C.), *189* (S.C.); Charles Stewart McFie, of Johannesburg. 47 (D.C.); Isaac Mandelstam, of Johannesburg. 2092, *386* (S.C.); Anton Frederick Mannel, M.D., of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. P.M. 710; Richard Harris Marks, of Luton. P.Pr.G.D., *H. 475*; Thomas Marshall-Wood, of St. Kilda, Victoria. 300, *425* (S.C.); George Thomas Mawson, C.E., of Bombay. 415, *415*; Robert James Meekren, of St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. P.M. 5 (Que.C.), *P.Z. 16* (Que.C.); Alfred John Bidder Milbourne, of Montreal. 76; Henry Ernest Miller, of London. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Pr.G.S.B.*, Durham; George William Mitchell, of Doncaster. P.Pr.G.D.C., *P.Z. 242*; Roydon Osmund Moore, of Melbourne. 159; Ernest Mortimer, of Bradford. P.M. 2321; William Charles Berken Mullett, of Bangor, Ireland. 114 (S.C.), *79* (S.C.); James Howard Munro, M.D., of Glengarry County, Ontario. J.W. 418, *P.Z. 143*; Dr. C. P. Nelson, of Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A. 956, *302*; George Andrew Nelson, of Lubeck, Victoria. 115, *33*; Norman Henry Nimmo, of Buenos Aires. J. W. 617, *617*; Lieut. Montague Wriothesley Noel, R.N., of London. 2612, *1629*; Herbert Horace Olney, of Ivanhoe, Victoria. P.M. 306; The Hon. May Oung, M.A., LL.M., of Rangoon. 832, *832*; Arthur Charles Patrick, M.A., B.Sc., of Nelson, Lancs. 2193, *126*; James Paul, of Sydney on Vaal, S. Africa. P.M. 1409, *P.Z. 173*; Arnt Pedersen, of Stavanger, Norway. Lodge St. Swithin; Percy Pemberton, of Leeds. P.Pr.G.D.; Amos Perry, of Enfield. P.M. 2945; Samuel Herbert Perry, of Spalding. 469; Edward James Petheram, of Dorking. S.W. 1149; Arthur Pett, of Kimberley. P.Dep.Pr.G.W. (D.C.), *P.Z. 1574*; Francis Eugene Phillips, of Pinner, Middlesex. 3736; William Thomas Pilkington, of Middleton, Lancs. 2320, *298*; Enrico Arthur Pinto, of Ramsgate. 1209; Revd. Franklin Riley Poage, of Hannibal, Mo., U.S.A. 333, *11*; Walter Rider Powell, of Bristol. P.Pr.G.D., *103*; Capt. Fulke Knatchbull Prideaux-Brune, of Padstow, Cornwall. 1785, *330*. George Truefit Querney, of London. L.R., *Sc.N. 3938*; Thomas Herdman Rae, F.S.I., of Sunderland. J.W. 1389, *97*; Harry Ralph, of Coventry. P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; Ernest Hilbourne Rann, of London. 1928; Louis Rask, of Schenectady, N.Y., U.S.A. 862, *157*; Gerald Reeves-Brown, of Simla. P.M. 459, *P.Z. 459*; Douglas Lincoln Kirkby Richardson, of Melbourne, Victoria. 76, *2*; Joseph William Rigg, of Castleton, Lancs. P.M. 2320, *298*; Allan Charles Rose, of London. 715; Charles William Rose, of East Malvern, Victoria. P.M. 81; John Rowbotham, of Thornton-le-Fylde, Lancs. P.M. 3392, *3392*; John George Rowntree, of Sunderland. P.M. 3216, *P.Z. 94*; Samuel Scott, junr., of Barrow-in-Furness. P.Pr.A.G.St.B., *P.Pr.A.G.So.*; Jacob Seigle, of Perry, Okla., U.S.A. 78; William Richard Semken, of London. 1910, *1716*; James William Senior, of Sheffield. P.M. 4069; George William Shaw, of Sargodha, India. J.W. 2377, *P.So. 2377*; George Ferguson Shepherd, F.R.C.S.I., of South Shields. 2418, *2418*; Harold Edward Shrimpton, of London, 3898, *3898*; George Sidorow, of Helsingfors, Finland. Lodge St. Augustin; Stewart Augustua Sillem, of Deal. S.W. 3452, *Sc.N. 784*; David Simpson Sime, of Johannesburg. S.D. 973 (S.C.), *H. 338* (S.C.); Austin Bryce Simes, of Abernethy, Sask. 77; James Knight Simpson, of Bolton, Lancs. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.S.*; Henry Arthur Barfield Sinclair, of Surrey Hills, Victoria. P.M. 1963, *2536* (E.C.); John Alexander Sinclair, of Glasgow. P.M. 153, *P.Z. 519*; Richard Skinner, of Dartford. P.M. 1339, *P.Z. 1446*; Elmer Garfield Smith, of Tooele, Utah, U.S.A. P.M. 11; Frederick Henry Smutz, of Chicago, U.S.A. 611, *205*; George William South, of London. 3646, *3303*;

John Spargo, of Old Bennington, Vermont, U.S.A. 13, *8*; Oliver Freeman Springer, of Quill Lake, Sask. S.W. 169; William Stein, of Portobello. P.M. 226, *J. 380*; David Stewart, of Heaton Moor, Lancs. 1773, *935*; Paul Storr, of London. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Ray Lewis Stout, of Portland, Oregon, U.S.A. P.M. 163; Bernard Owen Street, of Biggleswade, Beds. 803, *540*; Charles Francis Summers, of Melbourne, Victoria. P.G.D.; John Sutherland, of Abercynon, Glam. P.Pr.G.D.C., *P.Pr.G.D.C.*; Revd. Henry B. Swanzy, M.A., of Newry, Co. Down. Pr.G.Ch., *H.P. 77*; Bertram Charles Taylor, of Birmingham. 4011; Lieut. Frederick Augustus Merrell Taylor, of London. P.Dis.G.D., *P.Dis.G.St.B.*, Bombay; Charles Riddiford Thomas, of Swindon. P.Pr.G.St.B., *P.Pr.G.D.C.*; Henry William Thomas, of Swindon. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.So.*; Alfred George Williams Tonkin, of Bristol. 1755; Walter Albert Troedel, of Melbourne, Victoria. P.M. 300; James Tucker, of Bristol. S.W. 4399, *P.So. 1755*; John Tucker, of London. P.M. 2696, *2696*; Philip Crosby Tucker, of Davenport, Florida, U.S.A. 1; Cyril Thomas Vary, of Kyabram, Victoria. P.M. 225, *36*; John Foster Vesey Fitz Gerald, of London. P.M. 1629, *P.Z. 1629*; James Woodbourne Wakeford, of Dar es salaam, E. Africa. 4385, *1903*; John Edwin Walker, of Raleigh, N.C., U.S.A. S.W. 96; Reuben Harry Webb, of Ilford, Essex. 1539; Herbert Weeks, of Ramsgate. P.M. 1209, *429*; Archibald Parker Welch, of Goodmayes, Essex. S.W. 4455, *A.So. 2353*; Ralph Larrabee West, of London. P.M. 2834, *P.Z. 21*; Ernest Herbert Wyndham Westwood, of Melbourne, Victoria. 300, *11*; John S. Wheelan, of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. 409; Frederick George Whittall, of Birmingham. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; John Edward Whitty, of London. P.M. 2771, *Sc.E. 2771*; T. J. Williams, of Llanerchymedd, Anglesea. P.M. 1488; Ernest Winpenny, of Stockton-on-Tees. P.M. 509, *509*; David Wishart, of Dunfermline. 26, *36*; Carl James Wright, of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. 669, *208*; Ernest H. Wright, of Kenya. P.M. 3559; Henry Newcome Wright, LL.D., of Par Station, Cornwall. 496, *496*; and Mason Young, jun., of Short Hills, N.J., U.S.A. S.W. 190, *44*.

*Note.*—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

